

Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting
Quentin Massys

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Quentin Massys



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VOLUME VII

Max J. Friedländer

Quentin Massys



COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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PRABGER PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK · WASHINGTON

BOOKS THAT MATTER

Published in the United States of America in 1971
by Praeger Publishers, Inc.,
111 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003

The original German edition *Die Altniederländische
Malerei* was published between 1924 and 1937 by Paul
Cassirer, Berlin (Vol. I-XI) and A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden
(Vol. XII-XIV).

Published under the direction of Ernest Goldschmidt

Design Frits Stoepman gvn, Amsterdam

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A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij, N. V. 1971
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 67-13538
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Printed in Belgium and in the Netherlands.

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This edition is published under the auspices and with the aid of the Governments of Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands within the framework of their Cultural Agreements.

The publishers wish to express their gratitude to the chairman and members of the Committees for the Application of the Cultural Agreements between Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands for granting most valuable aid for research and editorial work, and to address also their sincere thanks to the members of the Advisory Committee, the Administrative Services of International Culture Affairs, the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels, the editors, the translator and all those who by their work or advice have contributed to the realization of this new edition of Max J. Friedländer's major work.

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A Foreward Look and a Glance Backwards

A superstitious belief in the magic of numbers inspires us to look upon the round figures that mark the turn of a century as the beginning of a new chapter. Yet in accounts of the history of art and culture, none will be naïve enough to take a year ending in two noughts *ipso facto* as the beginning or end of an epoch. We know that change sets in gradually, now before, now after a given landmark date. We have traced the activities of Gerard David deep into the new century; and now, in Quentin Massys and the Master of Frankfurt, we shall come to know painters who were not much younger than David and, like him, schooled in the 15th century, yet are commonly classed as representatives of the new age. For it is style, composition and approach rather than the accidents of biography that settle whether a master is assigned to this age or that. In many instances, moreover, biographical data are wanting. We must concede that a genius like Hugo van der Goes as early as 1480 anticipated achievements that properly belong to the new age, while more modest talents were unable to cast off 15th-century tradition as late as 1530. But even as we realize that the everlasting process of growth and change goes on heedless of date, the 16th century, in terms of style, is marked off from the 15th as a unit, even though the dividing line is blurred.

Forces that have slowly ripened seem to burst forth all of a sudden, turning abruptly away from the past. Bit by bit, the ties of tradition had withered. Peculiarities of the new age become manifest, at odds with the characteristics of the old. We must not, of course, expect all these marks to be combined in every painter. One may be fresh and forward-looking in one aspect, another slow-moving and old-fashioned in another. None merits pride of place as the very exemplar of the trail-blazer, the innovator *par excellence*. Any conspectus of the new that would lay claim to full consideration of visible form and colour could scarcely limit itself to single personalities.

The Netherlands are now open to receive stimulation. The land is shaken up, so to speak, and forces from the several regions cross and intermingle. Isolation gives way to outward-looking interest. Receptivity waxes as creative power wanes. Broader knowledge deadens the parochial outlook. In the eager pursuit of effective and flattering means of expression, unquietly ingratiating form takes the place of modest and naïve craftsmanship. A new concept of the artist develops.

What has mainly drawn notice is the impact of the South. Indeed, conventional art history is fond of suggesting as the most important element a sacrifice of traditional domestic in favour of Italian forms, constructing a kind of Netherlandish 'Renaissance.' Southern architecture and ornament and attitudes stemming from ancient sculpture are discovered in the North and their significance is overestimated. But the oversimplified notion that Netherlandish art now eagerly modelled itself on its supposedly superior Italian counterpart does less than justice to the complexities of history.

There was never much hesitation in the Netherlands to take over pictorial ideas.

In the 15th century, painters inherited their compositions and motives from the masters who taught them. Now, in the 16th, they looked out on all sides for enrichment. Yet Italian paintings, in whole or detail, were rather seldom copied. Even Jan Gossaert and Jan van Scorel, who went to Italy and came home proudly, as though from the Grand Academy, brought back precious little of the Italian style. Viewing ancient sculpture against its Southern background, they grew in self-confidence and began to emerge from the constraints of craftsmanship, but by no stretch of the imagination did they fall in thrall to any Italian master. Around 1520 the painters of the Netherlands preferred to copy from the woodcuts and engravings of Dürer rather than from Marcantonio. Modern art historians tend to overestimate the rôle of invention, hence to undervalue 16th-century Netherlandish art because of its poverty of invention. Yet the strong points of that art have always lain in its powers of observation—of the individual trait, of light, of landscape—where it has shone with its creative innovations.

When we follow the trail back to the earliest stirrings of the new spirit, we come upon decay and dissolution, brazen defiance of custom and orthodoxy, Mannerist curlicues, none of which seem to stem from Italian precept. It was not the Italian influence that constituted the crucial element.

The strongest native forces lived on—the forces that had given Netherlandish painting a status of superiority widely acknowledged in the 15th century—or rather, they revived after a time of troubles. The South gave succour rather than nurture. It liberated, but did not regiment. Mannerism was not engendered on the Italian model—rather was it overcome by classicism. Both Mannerism and classicism were no more than glittering fashions, beneath which the sound Netherlandish instinct, transforming itself at an accelerated pace, remained active.

The art that was imported from abroad served as an example that things could be done in different fashion. It stimulated innovation of every kind, not merely slavish imitation. The individual grew aware of his own. Under the new freedom and lack of direction, even mediocre talents ran wild, expressing themselves in excess and sensationalism. Religion was artistically profaned or sentimentalized.

Political and economic upheavals altered the relationship between painter and patron. Bourgeois society, with its bent towards democracy, stimulated the volume of production. Standards of workmanship declined. Speed of delivery was all-important. Painters no longer served a single patron, they often produced simply for the market. The prestige of Netherlandish painters' workshops, firmly established by the achievements of the 15th century, was commercially exploited in the 16th. From Antwerp, Brussels and Bruges, in particular, a great stream of export in altarpieces began to pour into the cities of the Hanseatic League, to the Rhineland, Scandinavia, Genoa and Spain. Work of slight value and poor execution was fobbed off on indiscriminating clients.

Viewing the turbulence and confusion of the new age, I find the 15th century, as I take leave of it, a time of lucid tranquillity and integration; and in my endeavour to present individual artists, I wonder whether I have done justice to its consistency and homogeneous spirit. Quite apart from this apprehension, I am troubled by the gaps in my report. In particular, I have paid no attention to the repercussions that spread out from Netherlandish painting, and I have drawn the geographic lines

too narrowly. I should like to make up for these deficiencies at least with a few remarks.

Neither politically, nor in terms of race and culture, was the Netherlands a clearly defined region. The Burgundians who ruled over the Netherlands were a branch of the French royal dynasty. The frontiers with France were subject to repeated political changes and cannot be sharply delimited by the art historian. How answer the question whether Simon Marmion was a Frenchman or a Netherlander? Born in the French town of Amiens, he was active in Valenciennes and Lille, Flemish places that belong to France today. We know nothing of Marmion's ethnic origins, nor of the place where he was schooled. We can form judgments only by his style. In Lille and Bruges he worked side by side with Netherlandish painters and in their spirit. We might exclude him on the grounds that he was French, and a miniaturist. But either reason only half applies. Panel paintings from his brush have become known in considerable number¹. In time and style, he fits into the sequence between Rogier and Memling. The period of his active work lies demonstrably between 1454 and 1468.

The Master of Moulins, convincingly identified by Hulin as Jean Peréal², worked in the heartland of France rather than in the border regions, and in terms of his art too seems to be of French blood. At the very least, he belongs among the thoroughly Latinized Netherlanders. He was active between 1480 and 1500, possibly following an apprenticeship in the Netherlands. In form and palette, he has much in common with Hugo van der Goes. The situation of the Master of St. Giles is similar to that of the Master of Moulins³. Around 1500, he was apparently active in France, although perhaps by origin and certainly by training he was a Netherlander.

The Netherlands exported not merely works of art, but artists as well. We have dealt at length with Joos van Wassenhove⁴, who settled in Urbino in 1468, and we have seen how his style changed on Italian soil. His compatriots who were summoned to the court of Queen Isabella of Spain were in a similar situation to this painter from Ghent. Documents tell us that the queen employed at least three painters from the North between 1474 and 1504—Melchior Aleman, Michel Flamenico and Juan de Flandes. Owing largely to Justi's researches⁵, Juan de Flandes has become a clearly defined figure of no mean importance. As for the Master Michiel, I myself have spun out certain conjectures⁶. We can see, in the case of Antonello da Messina, the degree to which an Italian painter was able to enter into the style and approach of the Netherlanders; and conversely, in the Netherlands we can see varying degrees of Latinization in individual cases, when we hold up paintings for comparison.

Attention to these ramifications supplements our picture of the rich flowering of Netherlandish panel painting in the 15th century, whose dominion becomes further evident, when we study German painting, especially the Rhenish school.

1. Cf. *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* (Galls *Jahrbuch*), 1923, pp. 167 ff.

2. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, p. XLVIII.

3. *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Museen*, Vol. 34, 1913, No. 10.

4. Vol. 3, pp. 43 ff.

5. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 8, pp. 157 ff.

6. *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Museen*, Vol. 36, 1915, col. 177 ff.; *Der Cicerone*, Vol. 21, 1929, pp. 249 ff.

The Life of Master Quentin, and His Two Altarpieces in Brussels and Antwerp

12

There is no age when Quentin Massys was not famous. Local pride zealously cultivated his renown. In the second half of the 16th and throughout the 17th centuries, he was remembered as the painter who, by virtue of inborn talent, rose from the motley ranks of the craftsmen to the intellectual stature of 'artist.' This notion proved to be fertile soil for legend and fanciful biography. A love story was injected to provide Quentin's deepest personal motive for becoming a painter. He came from a family of blacksmiths, and practised this paternal craft until his 20th year. Such, at least, is the story told by van Mander, who adds that others have wrongly lengthened his work in the smithy by ten years. Van Mander insists he had no teacher and is quite voluble on the subject of why and on what occasion Quentin changed professions. In this story, Quentin, saddled with the duty of supporting an aged mother, yet unable, in consequence of an illness, to do heavy manual work, took someone's advice to colour woodcuts for a living. It was in doing this makeshift work that he first grew aware of his true vocation. But even van Mander does not pass over the other and more romantic aspect of the story, which gained such wide currency. The young blacksmith was in love with a pretty girl, and his rival for her affections was a painter. The girl was fond of Quentin, but not of his trade. It was to win her that he himself turned painter.

There is a kernel of truth in these stories. Quentin's father was indeed a blacksmith, as shown in documents which further say that the father died when the son was quite young. In all likelihood, he carried on the blacksmith's trade after his father's death and had to provide for his mother. Then, whatever the reasons may have been, he broke with family tradition and chose the profession of painter. The stirrings of inborn talent, the 'bent' that Dürer cited as the reason for his choice, may have guided Quentin as well.

No longer fitted for heavy labour, he sought refuge in a more intellectual pursuit. The girl of his choice scorned the sooty blacksmith in favour of the painter. What we see indicated here are the beginnings of a craft hierarchy, with a romantic conception of the calling of the artist.

Indications are not lacking that Massys held aloof from guild society. He never held office in the Antwerp painters' guild, presumably declining to watch over its rules and precepts. He furnished his residence with discrimination, adorning it with paintings. This house became a local sight. Dürer was conducted thither, but never seems to have met Antwerp's leading painter, although he spent months in the town and knew Joachim Patenier, who was on intimate terms with Massys. Unless Quentin was ill or absent at the time, it must have been reserve—if, indeed, not arrogance or envy—that caused him to evade the German in this fashion.

Massys was celebrated as the founder of the proud and famous school of Antwerp. He is the only master of his time to whom, as early as the 17th century, voluminous biographies were devoted, their titles sounding like a fanfare of trumpets¹.

1. Franchois Fickaert, *Metamorphosis ofte Wonderbaere Veranderingh' ende Leven van den Vermaerden Mr. Quinien Massys*, 1648; Alexander van Fornenbergh, *Den Antwerpschen Protheus ofte Cyclopschen Apelles*, 1658.

In our own time, Belgian scholarship has been exercised over only one problem relating to Massys, the question of where he was born. Two cities, Antwerp and Louvain, have been fighting bitterly for the honour. Rooses and van den Branden, rival historians of the Antwerp school, were in agreement that Massys deserves to be introduced as the first popular personality, but they felt entitled to do so only if they could show that he was born in Antwerp. They conducted their controversy more like lawyers than judges. Anyone who examines the arguments and documents without local bias can scarcely avoid the conclusion that Louvain wins over Antwerp.

Massys was entered as a *schilder* in the Antwerp guild register in 1491. He lived and worked in this town until his death in 1530, hence merits to be reckoned an Antwerp master, no matter where his cradle stood. But the fact that he is so described scarcely bears on his place of birth. On the other hand, when we hear him described as the 'Master of Louvain,' despite his close ties with Antwerp, such a statement deserves serious consideration. Now Guicciardini, our earliest witness, speaks quite plainly, two decades after the master's death, when he says that Massys came from the same region as 'Dieric [Bouts] of Louvain' and speaks of Jan Massys as the son of 'Quentin of Louvain.'

Molanus the chronicler relates in 1575 that Quentin was born in Louvain and had been a blacksmith before he became a painter.

The fact that the citizens of Louvain in 1507 chose Massys, then working in Antwerp, when it came to commissioning the great altarpiece of St. Anne, fits in well with this report. There was, moreover, a second work by his hand in Louvain, a *Last Supper*². And a church in Louvain is dedicated to St. Quentin, which would explain a baptismal name that is not too common.

The archivist van Even has unearthed documents that provide incontestable corroboration in all points³. A blacksmith named Joost Massys appears in Louvain in 1459. His wife was named Catharina van Kinckem. He died in 1482, a year in which she is described as a widow, and he left four children: Joost, Quentin, Jan and Catharina. On 4th April 1491 this Quentin is declared to be of age, and on 10th September 1494 he reports being 28 years of age. He must therefore, have been born between 10th September 1465 and 10th September 1466, and would have been 14 or 15 when his father died.

These dates fit in so well with legend and tradition that we need not hesitate to identify the son of the Louvain blacksmith as the same Quentin Massys who worked in Antwerp from 1491 onwards.

The arguments brought forward from the Antwerp archives can scarcely dent the solid body of the Louvain findings. True, Antwerp has also turned up a blacksmith named Massys, for consideration as the painter's father. This Jan Massys is mentioned in 1453, and his wife was named Margarete van der Eynde. We also know the names of his children: Costen, Jan, Claus and Katline—but no Quentin; and this is the decisive element that eliminates Antwerp's claim. In 1501 one Jan Massys (*de oude*) became a full-fledged master in Antwerp. The desperate protagonists of Antwerp's case argue that he is Quentin's son. But Quentin, born in Louvain in 1465 or 1466, could not have had a son of sufficient maturity for master's status by 1501. The very premise for such a conclusion is defective, for there is no

2. Descamps, *Voyage Pittoresque*, p. 102.

3. Cf. *Biographie Nationale*, Vol. 14.

reason whatever, let alone proof, to show that this Jan was Quentin's son. He may have been a brother.

There is some evidence to indicate bonds of kinship between the Massys families residing in Louvain and Antwerp, in both of which the blacksmith's trade was traditional. Jan Massys, a furrier and son of the Antwerp blacksmith Jan, is mentioned in 1508 as godfather to one of Quentin's children. He may have been the painter's cousin; and in this case the family tree might show Quentin's grandfather to have been the blacksmith Hendrick Massys, mentioned in Antwerp records in 1425. Of his sons, one, Jan, carried on the ancestral trade in Antwerp, while the other, Joost, settled in Louvain. Perhaps this possibility will serve to bring some comfort to Antwerp local pride.

The quarrel between the cities concerns us only in that Louvain's victory provides some firm dates of importance in the painters biography, such as the year of his birth. Quentin, we see, is not very much younger than Gerard David. He grew up in Louvain rather than Antwerp. If he was apprenticed to a painter at all, this must have also been in Louvain rather than Antwerp. At the crucial time when he changed professions, about 1485, he was, therefore, steeped in the art of Louvain, in the traditional forms painting had there taken on. If he had indeed to care for his mother after the untimely death of his father, he presumably stayed in his home town, as a blacksmith and painter, until he settled in Antwerp in 1491.

If Quentin had no teacher, his efforts at teaching himself, astonishing as they must have been, undoubtedly proceeded from what he could see in Louvain. And when we seek to trace the growth of his art, our first question must concern the state of painting in Louvain. Dieric Bouts was surely responsible for the visible evidence most likely to fascinate a receptive lad, conveying to him an inkling of the power and magic of the painter's craft and drawing him out of the paternal smithy. Dieric had died in 1475, when Quentin was nine or ten years old, and Dieric's sons were some 10 and 15 years older than he. At the time Quentin began to paint, they ran their father's workshop, or possibly two workshops, to the best of their ability in his spirit.

Massys was twice married, first in Louvain, then, upon the death of his first wife, in Antwerp. By Alyt Tuyt, whom he married about 1486, he begat several children. On 15th March 1508, he assigned to two children from that marriage, Pauwel and Catherine, then still under age, certain moneys from the estate of his recently deceased wife. That same year he contracted matrimony with Catharina Heyns, who bore him many children. Data on the number and names of the sons and daughters of the two marriages are confused and contradictory⁴. In the year 1511, his fee for the altarpiece painted for the carpenters' guild is changed into an annual payment to two of his children, Quentin and Catelyn. We are interested only in the sons who became painters. Cornelis and Jan Massys, who earned their master's patent simultaneously in Antwerp, in 1531, and with whose work we are familiar, were Quentin's sons. The circumstance that they both achieved master's status directly upon his death favours the assumption that they worked as apprentices or journeymen in his workshop until 1530. Their names do not appear in the guild registers prior to 1531, but masters were not required to register their own sons as apprentices. Cornelis and Jan are likely to have been children of Quentin's first

4. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, p. 78; catalogue of the Antwerp Museum, 1861.

marriage, i.e., to have been born before 1508. By 1531 they would have scarcely reached the age required for masters, had they been children of the second marriage.

Two altarpieces, in the museums at Brussels and Antwerp, each comprising five panels, provide us with a superabundance of evidence concerning Quentin's art. They were created, the one immediately following upon the other, beginning in 1507. The first was completed in 1509, the second, apparently, on 26th August 1511, the commission for it having been given in 1508. At this time Quentin stood at the peak of his creative vigour, equidistant from apprenticeship and senility. He was between 42 and 46 years of age, and he employed his every resource to do justice to these great tasks. The altarpiece of St. Anne in Brussels, from St. Peter's in Louvain, bears the inscription: *Quentin Massys screef dit 1509*. The altarpiece of the Passion in Antwerp, from the cathedral there, was painted for the joiners' guild.

Both altarpieces have come down to us complete and as originally conceived. Their state is another matter, and the differences in that respect account for the sometimes sharply contrasting effects the two works make upon us. The Brussels altarpiece has been radically cleaned—overcleaned in part. There is a mild air about it, a somewhat anaemic harmony. Its aristocratically pale tints have a nacreous quality. The Antwerp altarpiece, on the other hand, while it has been cleaned, has not been overcleaned, and under the bright museum illumination, its naked pigments glare forth almost too distinctly.

We can be in no doubt about the path we must follow. First of all, we must immerse ourselves as deeply as possible in the whole formal and conceptual world of these mature masterpieces; and once we have secured this firm platform, we must descend to the location and recognition of earlier achievements that may throw light on the origins of Quentin's art. His entire œuvre is likely to blend readily into a total picture with relative ease, for in addition to the two main pieces there is no dearth of paintings authenticated by inscription.

The triptych painted for St. Peter's in Louvain (2, Plates 4-7) is executed with uniform care in all its parts. It is dedicated to the kindred of Jesus, in particular to the Virgin's parents. The fixed centrepiece shows a tranquil gathering of the large clan, while the shutters, inside and out, give scenes from the life of the grandparents of Jesus.

The Holy Kindred are centred in a kind of hall that opens to the rear in three arches. The figures are arranged in loose symmetry and meaningful gradation, the Virgin with the Child and St. Anne in the middle, each of the two other Marys a bit to the fore on either side, the one on the right with two children, the one on the left with four. Above a balustrade that runs the breadth of the panel rise the four husbands in half-length—Joachim, Joseph, Alphæus and Zebedee. It is a gathering of congenial members from noble families, with the women and children in the foreground. The sweeping gowns join and often overlap without a break and are cut by the frame at the bottom and sides. The airy hall, constructed in central perspective, arches away in depth, but serves as a back-drop for the figures rather than an enclosing space. The bright but diffuse illumination enhances the out-of-door impression. The structure is in the Gothic spirit, although not in Gothic forms proper, complex, interlocking and imaginative, with half-columns of highly polished, semitransparent, agatelike stone.

The master saw his task as one of expressing the dignity and elect character of the Holy Kindred in terms of physical handsomeness. The men, rather listless, like Indian potentates, with expressions of awed devotion, are subordinated to the women. It is they who reign, without force or effort, owing to their sublime purity. The narrative begins on the outside of the left shutter. St. Anne and St. Joachim, the latter young and beardless, resembling John the Evangelist, hand a casket with money to the priest in the temple. Between Joachim and the priest are the heads of two men, one of whom, hatless and looking like a portrait, is reading a deed of conveyance, while the other, bearded, seems to belong to the Holy Kindred, judging from dress and type.

At outer right, St. Joachim's offering is rejected. The aged priest, eyes half-closed and mouth open, sweeps the coins from the offertory table behind which he stands. Joachim turns aside, as though to hide from the people, from shame. A series of heads descends toward the right. Next to the priest's dominant one, is one wedged between his head and Joachim's. This head looks altogether like a portrait and may indeed be the master's own⁵. Beyond Joachim come two men, evidently agitated by the incident, and finally, half cut off by the frame, a plump and indolent spectator. Common curiosity, gaping at secret sorrow and undeserved rejection, and the priest's zealous harshness—these elements enhance the dramatic and moving impression.

Inside the left shutter is the Annunciation to Joachim, who raises his head towards the angel bringing the message, while at the same time dropping to his knee in devout awe. Inside right is the death of St. Anne—a close-knit group about the death-bed, in worshipful dignity, family intimacy and respectfully restrained grief.

The altarpiece in Antwerp (1, Plates 1-3) weaves a discrepant and contradictory spell—like a mystery in broad daylight. Format and scale put the viewer in his proper place. From that place, however, the execution cannot be appreciated. The ambitions of a miniaturist are in conflict with those of a monumentalist. It is not altogether easy to reconcile the dramatic emotional content with the pomp and circumstance displayed. Here is no ordinary human death, no mourning in sackcloth and ashes, but instead a symbolic ecclesiastical performance. The psychological meaning, the animation of traditional forms—these are progressive elements, while the static, relieflike composition is old-fashioned.

The centre panel shows *The Lamentation*. The body of the dead Saviour is in the foreground with nine men and women, who form approximately equal elements in a dense hedge of figures, cut off below and at the sides by the frame. The Virgin is behind the body, behind her is St. John, and behind him a man with the crown of thorns in his hands. This array occupies considerable depth, but no illusion of depth is created, neither by diminution in perspective, nor by gradations of colour. Strictly speaking, the foremost rank is formed only by the man rising massively at the extreme left, the body of Jesus and the Magdalene kneeling at right. The second and third ranks, however, are artfully intertwined with the first, and all the heads, whether seen in full-face or half-face, are distributed at approximately equal intervals over the picture area. On the right, a system of wavy outlines is broken by the harsh accents of stiffly extended arms. The background, a steep and jagged escarpment, stands on its own. There is no middleground, apart from a man and two

5. Compare this with the oval medallion (Plate 133) with the painter's portrait, reproduced in Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Brussels, 1900, pl. 1, 4, and also with the engraving by Jan Wiericx (Plate 134) in the well-known series of portraits of painters, published by Jerome Cock's Widow.

women near the right edge, who are cleaning the rock tomb to prepare the interment.

The body of Jesus is shaped with much anatomical knowledge, smooth as ivory, soft as wax, its horror tempered. All the reaching hands are fine and delicate in configuration, touching the emotions, as though devout and aristocratic Sisters were performing a labour of love.

The general aspects of angerless, sublimated grief and reverent devotion is dramatically broken in only one place. The beturbaned man, holding the crown of thorns, looks out from the painting with eyes wide open, nervous and startled, as though he sensed or feared some danger.

The insides of the shutters show, on the left, the feast at which Herod receives the severed head of the Baptist and, on the right, the martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist. Here, less trammelled than in the centre panel, the master eagerly seizes upon opportunities to bemuse the viewer with a show of splendour and a depiction of orgiastic cruelty. The lofty sorrow and many-voiced harmony of lamentation in the centre panel are framed on either side by evil instinct. Herod, shown as a sumptuous Oriental despot with an imposing head ⁶ and sensual lips, sits behind a table standing at an angle. His wife sits beside him, while a page fusses with a wine cooler and the daughter, in a dancelike movement, approaches the table with the Baptist's head, her seductive grace forming a contrast to the king's massive bulk.

The Evangelist's fate is conceived in terms of an orgy of cruelty and grinning malice. He stands in a cauldron, doomed to be boiled to death. A teeming throng of men in colourful and opulent dress presses in, with horses interspersed, but there is even illumination throughout, and no effort to create an illusion of depth. In the foreground two stocky and well-muscled henchmen fan the flames beneath the kettle, one compressing his lips in an excess of zeal, while the other sticks out his tongue in cruel mockery. A boy has climbed a tree to enjoy a better view from above. The Antwerp altarpiece was dedicated to the two Johns, and they are shown, as statues in grisaille, on the outside of the shutters. The execution is rather on the coarse side, probably on account of the intervention of assistants.

This description of mine of the two altarpieces points out many aspects of Quentin's approach and personality that mark off the territory of his taste and inclinations. We are now prepared to recognize him, when we meet him again.

Contemplation of these panels, of a smoothness as though they had been polished, inspires respect for a master whose work displays constant tension. He took himself and his profession seriously and never chose the easy way. He must have traversed a considerable space forwards and upwards, before attaining so much formal knowledge and technical assurance.

6. The head was not originally as dark as it is now. The darkening followed a disfiguring job of retouching. The master drew on the titlepage of Dürer's *Apocalypse* for some suggestions.

Youthful Works by Quentin Massys

Almost anyone who has undergone the experience of viewing the St. Anne altarpiece in Brussels, absorbing something of its key and melody, is likely to recognize at once as Quentin's work another painting in the same museum, a large, single Madonna at full-length (17, Plate 22). Further, he will have no hesitation in deciding that she was painted much earlier than the altarpiece. The artist's identity and the date are confirmed by the arms of the town of Louvain, which Hulin has noted in the panel¹. True, this heraldic device does not conclusively prove that the picture was painted in Louvain, hence before 1491. It may have been done in Antwerp, for some church or other in Louvain.

1. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 21.

The Virgin looms large in the foreground on a throne of solid masonry and fine workmanship which fills almost the whole area. The Gothic forms are still on the stiff side—Quentin had not yet given free rein to his private architectural imagination, to the inchoate urge for a new style that later on led to airy and decorative structures, playfully employing colourful materials. In his mature period, he was particularly fond of gleaming coloured columns, with capitals chiselled as though by a goldsmith.

The panel leaves a rather heavy and dim impression, in part perhaps because it has become darkened by coats of turbid varnish [11]. But it is accented with strong shadows and even in its original state it can scarcely have had the bright out-of-doors air of the St. Anne altarpiece. The halo of rays—which appears in far more subdued fashion, almost invisible, in the St. Anne altarpiece—lends an old-fashioned touch. Here as there, the Virgin's expression is grave, noble and sorrowful, but here it is a bit more sullen and homespun, not quite so proud and a trifle weary. The child, covered to the toes in a long white shift, perches in a somewhat uncertain posture on the mother's arm, an expression of almost animal-like gravity on his face. The Virgin's small hands, their fingers stiffly extended, show little of the mastery we have admired in the St. Anne altarpiece. The chastely swathing robe, with its broad sweep of overlapping borders picked out in pearl embroidery, flows obliquely downwards in a rhythm the master made peculiarly his own. Yet this harmonious draping does not everywhere smoothly overcome certain stubborn impediments and blockages. The ornamental pathos Quentin seeks to breathe into it strikes an ever so slightly discordant note. A conspicuous feature of this panel is the broad shadow play of the robe, reminiscent of *chiaroscuro*. This stands in contrast to the even coloration that marks Quentin's mature style. We view the Brussels Madonna as a youthful work and explain its shortcomings as the groping of a beginner who seeks to hide his weakness by deepening the shadows. To be sure, such terms as 'youthful' and 'beginner' are relative and must be seen in the perspective of the altarpieces created between 1507 and 1511. We cannot know how close we have come to Quentin's novitiate.

The Brussels museum also owns a *Virgin and Child* in half-length (20, Plate 25), which has been regarded as a youthful work of Quentin for decades, no counter-

argument of any consequence having been put forward, so far as I know. The upper part of this panel is missing (21). An exact but slightly smaller replica in the Renders collection at Bruges (20a, Plate 25) gives us the full composition. There the draped cloth, decorated with lilies, is held by two angels in the arched area above, only their heads and arms rising above it. The position of their hands determines the folds in the cloth, which are identical but unmotivated in the Brussels painting. Again judging from the replica, it also seems to have been slightly cropped at the bottom. In many of its features, this Madonna in half-length coincides with the full-length Madonna we have already considered. The cut of the robe at the neck, with its narrow black piping, is the same, as are the pleats running down over the breast, the child in his long white shift, the heavy, bejewelled borders, the motive of the open book, the spoked halo, the vigorous shadows, the chiaroscuro. Here too the space is shallow, shut off behind the figure by the stretched cloth, against which the head casts a heavy shadow. The child sits in graceless gravity, with large, dark, widely spaced eyes in a spherical head fastened to the shoulders almost without a neck. The Virgin's high, round forehead is softly pillowed in a dark frame of luxuriant hair. The whole composition seems to rise from murky depths, with an air of heavy-handed melancholy about it.

A third Madonna, less well-known, since the panel emerged from private hands in England only a few years ago (25, Plate 29), fits into this sequence, in my view, although it departs in many respects from the two paintings in Brussels. Now in the collection of C. W. Dyson Perrins, this panel, first of all, looks different, because it has been cleaned and is rid of its dull varnish layers, unlike the Brussels panels. Then too, its air of delicacy is, at least in part, due to its smaller scale.

The Virgin is seated on a high-backed bench, the construction and perspective of which are not altogether explicit. Its surfaces are kept in the decorative Gothic style, with many verticals outlined in black on gold. On either side stands an angel with a musical instrument. Two more angels float above, bearing a crown over the Virgin's head. The stone floor inclines forward at an alarming angle and is covered in part by an Oriental rug. The Virgin holds a book in two stiffly extended hands, behind which the child in his white shift sits as though they formed a protective barrier. The general arrangement is the same as in the Brussels panels, except that the child does not project beyond the contours of the mother, who faces more to the front. The halo of rigid spikes that issues from the Virgin's head, the rhythm of the drapery, the deep shadows and recesses, the wavy fall of the sparkling borders, the coarse mops of hair, like fur caps, on the angels' heads, their dark and wide-open eyes, bearing an expression of animal fright—all these are marks that seem to tie this Madonna inseparably to Quentin's acknowledged 'early' works.

Flaws that point to inexperience are revealed in the shaping of the space, the uncertain construction of the locale. The throne itself forms a complete obstruction while the chapel in which it stands is awkwardly outlined. All the feet are covered, with the exception of those of the infant Jesus. The angels do not soar but seem to hang by invisible wires. The whole composition harks back to some fixed model, to the tradition of Bruges, and is reminiscent of Memling. More to the point, the emotional pitch lacks the depth and gravity that give weight to the Brussels panels. The Virgin's head is rather doll-like—smug and aloof. The child is amiable and

insignificant. The whole painting is innocuous and festive, but without the imprint of sorrow that none of Quentin's other Madonnas altogether lacks. I am inclined, for these reasons, to regard this one as having been painted even earlier than the Brussels Madonnas.

A *St. Christopher* in the museum at Antwerp (32, Plate 37) is rightly regarded as Quentin's work, painted at a relatively early date. We have somewhat similar compositions showing this saint by Dieric Bouts², and also by Dieric's successor, who has been identified as his son Albert³. When we compare these panels, we are in a position to perceive, even though but dimly, the connexion between Massys and the Louvain tradition, much as we would expect. This object lesson will also show us the direction in which Quentin's own impulses drove him. If Massys painted his *St. Christopher* about 1490—which is no more than conjecture, based on poor evidence—Dieric's picture was done a generation before, and Albert's panel, among his best works, by the way, probably not much before 1490.

The figures' share in the total picture area remains unchanged. The river, coursing between steep shores jutting out from right and left, the gently crinkled water gleaming in the dusk—all these Massys depicted with resources borrowed from the Boutsian workshop. Quentin, however, lowered the line of the horizon. In Bouts's Munich panel, it bisects the head of the child, in the one in Modena it touches the top of the saint's head. Quentin places it at his waist, creating a new sense of space in nature, deliberately improving upon a traditional set-piece. Dieric looked down on the land and the water, while nevertheless showing the figure standing in the water from the normal viewpoint. Massys swept away this dual perspective, this discrepancy in the way the picture was put together.

Dieric's Munich triptych wing has been rightly praised for the skill with which the master has distilled a mood from the locale and time of day. His glowing evening light invests the incident of the faithful giant with symbolic significance. This is precisely Quentin's point of departure, from which he moves onwards with great freedom. He had obviously studied the lighting at first hand, and he enhanced the element of pathos with his strong contrasts of light and shadow. Gathering up the elements put together by Bouts, he re-thought and re-felt the whole situation in terms of time and place. *St. Christopher* stands facing full front in the shallow water, bearing the infant Jesus on his shoulders. He stands out against a background that is dark water below, night sky above. The two faces are almost luminous under some unearthly illumination, while the solid areas of the saint's dress in their sombre tones contrast with the light horizon. Tension is reflected in the faces, the wide-open eyes, the intent features, the deep vertical furrow in *St. Christopher's* brow. It speaks from the robe fluttering upwards, from its deep folds and recesses, its rearing and intersecting lines.

Dieric's *St. Christopher* is no more than an upright though worried little man, compared to this giant who bears his seemingly trifling burden as though under the lash of a vision, his soul shaken with intimations of doom. This is progress of a kind, in the limited sense in which an art historian may use that term.

The infant Jesus resembles the children and angels in the Madonna panels—great, dark, widely spaced eyes, a high, round, framing mop of hair—but he seems a bit more mature and his mouth is parted, as though he were groping for words.

2. Inside the right shutter of the little altarpiece in Munich. See Vol. 3, Pl. 38 and 40.

3. In the museum at Modena. See Vol. 3, Pl. 82.

Perhaps our view is not as broad as we think, but the four paintings we have regarded as works of Quentin's youth are clearly distinct from the altarpieces created between 1507 and 1511. They lack, in particular, the diffuse light and the broken shadows. In his quest for the illusion of depth, for three-dimensional realism, for power of expression, Massys first went for vigorous contrasts of light and dark and for deep shadows, darkening broad areas of his paintings to excess, trusting light effects more than local coloration. He strode up the path towards chiaroscuro, only to leave it again. It is plausible to associate this change of direction with a change of scene, to posit a 'Louvain Period' that preceded the 'Antwerp Period.' Quite possibly it was Dieric Bouts, originally from Haarlem, who turned the Louvain style towards the observation of light contrasts. Massys first struck out along Dieric's road, only to turn away from it.

Apart from the stimulation of Dieric's devout and profound works, full of colour and sentiment, can we point to any other master who may have influenced Quentin's beginnings? Van Mander insists the young blacksmith was self-taught in the art of painting. It is a story that fits in well with the legend of genius miraculously awakened by the power of love. In the face of van Mander's report, Molanus names the master from whom Massys learned the painter's craft as Rogier. But which Rogier? The greatest bearer of that name had died in 1464, about the very time when Quentin was born. If Molanus meant him, his report is worthless. He might, however, have referred to the famous Rogier's grandson and namesake. This master was born in 1460 and presumably worked in Brussels about 1485⁴. Yet it avails us little to follow the Louvain chronicler, for we are completely in the dark about the style of the younger Rogier. In 1491 Massys came to Antwerp and 16 years later he embarked upon the St. Anne altarpiece. The irrepressible urge to fill out this period, not to leave open so wide a gap, has been satisfied by C. Justi. In a chapel of the church of San Salvador in Valladolid, he found the wings of a carved shrine (84, Plate 74) given in 1504 which he has declared with great conviction to be the work of Quentin Massys⁵. On the inside the shutters show a *Nativity* and an *Adoration*, on the outside *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. They are unusually tall, yet, strangely, each wing is divided down the middle by a narrow vertical strip, without regard to the composition. Strictly speaking, the date represents only the year prior to which the painting must have been done. An inscription states that a certain Gonzales erected the altar early in the year 1504. Considerations of style confirm that the painting could not have been done very much earlier.

Beyond all question, the altar shutters in Valladolid are remarkable monuments in the history of Antwerp painting and display many of the characteristics of the art of Quentin Massys. We would scarcely expect anything else of C. Justi's acumen and painstaking scholarship. My only trouble is that in two attempts I have vainly sought to get a clear picture of the work in the gloomy chapel, nor have I had much better luck in my endeavours to comprehend the style from small reproductions of poor quality⁶. If I have any power to judge these shutters, I must doubt that they were painted by Massys, being rather inclined to attribute them to a certain follower of his. I shall avoid the danger of distorting my presentation by inserting this work, which I still find problematical, and propose to revert to it, when the time comes to discuss this follower.

4. Van den Branden,
loc. cit., p. 49.

5. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen
Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 8,
1887, pp. 24 ff.; Juan Agapito
y Revilla, *La Capilla de San
Bautista*, Valladolid, 1912.

6. Gravure prints in the
above-mentioned pamphlet
by Juan Agapito y Revilla.

Other Works by Master Quentin

In addition to the two authenticated main works, we find several more that are either dated, or that can be dated within certain limits without the help of stylistic analysis. We shall begin with a study of these paintings, to provide the firmest possible foundation to our view of Quentin's development. The following dated works are acknowledged by general consensus, if not by actual signature, to be his: 1509 *Portrait of a Man*, Reinhart collection, Winterthur (38, Plate 43), unsigned but dated.

1513 *Profile Portrait of an Old Man*, Jacquemart-André Museum, Paris (51, Plate 53), signed and dated.

1514 *A Money Changer and His Wife*, Louvre, Paris (53, Plate 51), signed and dated.

1515-1524 *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, Prado, Madrid (31, Plate 35). An entry in an inventory, which stylistic analysis confirms, documents that this is the joint work of Quentin and Joachim Patenier. Since Patenier came to Antwerp in 1515 and died there in 1524, these are the dates within which the painting must have been done.

1515-1524 *Virgin and Child*, after Leonardo da Vinci, Raczynski collection, Poznan museum (19, Plate 24), unsigned. The landscape is apparently by Patenier.

1517 *Portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam* (Rome, Corsini Gallery; 36, Plate 40), and *Portrait of Peter Gillis* (collection of Lord Radnor, Longford Castle; 37, Plate 41). Authenticated and dated in a letter to Erasmus from the English humanist, Thomas More.

1518 (?) An altarpiece in the Pinakothek, Munich (3, Plate 8), given by Lucas Rem, who married in 1518, bearing his arms and those of his wife, unsigned.

1526 *The Adoration*, Metropolitan Museum, New York (8, Plate 15), dated by inscription 151526, unsigned.

1529 *The Rattier Madonna*, Louvre, Paris (24, Plate 28), dated and signed.

This list does not include any paintings dating back to before 1509. Our immediate and limited goal is to gain a picture of the mature and aging master's approach from a comparative study of these paintings.

The *Portrait of a Man* of 1509, in the Reinhart collection (38, Plate 43), is not very widely known. It is at half-length and shows deep and wide shadows at the top and left that look as though they were cast by the frame. The head itself casts another strong shadow on the neutral green background. We occasionally find shadow treatment of this kind, especially in portraits by Joos van Cleve, but never shaped as resolutely and consistently as here. The clean-shaven subject of the portrait has been stopped in action, so to speak. He holds a piece of paper in both hands, on which a potent cross is seen, together with his age, 51, and the year, 1509. His nose is generous and a bit too sharply to profile. His features are rugged, and the sharp illumination picks out their unevennesses as on a relief map. His mouth and eyes are at an angle. He glances diffidently at the beholder from the corners of his eyes,

with an ill-tempered air of resignation. The odd angles, introduced apparently for pictorial effect are consistent with a nature racked by life and inner conflict. Lines and wrinkles tell a story of suffering. Bone structure, slack flesh, ravaged skin, warts and wens are all depicted with delicate tone gradations, patchy and unlighted shadows and swift changes in intensity of line.

By comparison, our surviving portraits by Joos van Cleve, laid out along similar lines, are conventional and all smooth surface. This eager trend towards analytical dissection that was at work in Quentin in 1509 let up in time, as might be expected from general human experience. When we glance at the portraits of Erasmus and Gillis, we can see how the tension has slackened.

Massys painted the diptych (36, Plate 40; 37, Plate 41) with these two portraits in 1517. The two subjects were friends, and it was dispatched to a third friend, Thomas More in London. The English statesman and humanist conveyed his thanks for the gift in a poem with the following heading: Verses on a double panel, on which Erasmus and Peter Gillis are represented together by the eminent artist Quentin, in such a way that Erasmus is beginning his paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, and the books painted beside him show their titles, while Peter holds a letter, addressed to him in More's hand, which address the painter has also represented (31).

As a humanist, Erasmus was intent upon a likeness cast in bronze, and he prevailed upon the painter, with whom he was on familiar terms, to make a medallion of him, a task that presented a challenge to the Netherlander. In a letter of 29th March 1528 to Henry Botteus, the scholar wrote: *Unde statuarius iste nactus sit effigiem mei, demiror; nisi fortasse habet eam, quam Quintinus Antwerpiae fudit ære—Pinxit me Durerus, sed nihil simile.* There is extant a fine medallion with a profile likeness of Erasmus (Plate 133), dated 1519, and on the strength of this passage, it is rather generally regarded as Quentin's work¹ (41).

Unfortunately, this unique double portrait has not come down to us in its original state. The side with Gillis is in Longford Castle—it has been subsequently enlarged at the top and on the left, spoiling the appearance of the composition—while the other side is in the Corsini gallery in Rome, from the collection of Count Gregory Stroganoff. Massys was at the height of his powers when he painted these portraits, and he contrasted the two personalities with great ingenuity. The interior is actually common to both panels—table and bookshelves run across from one to the other. Erasmus is the elder and clearly the superior, completely absorbed in his writing. Peter is the more lively and mobile, with his cleft chin and inquisitive nose. He wants to attract to himself the attention of his friend, who is lost in his work—or perhaps to the letter he holds in his hand.

Scholar and town clerk are depicted with tact and at a respectful distance. All parts—faces, attitudes, postures, the study itself—are harmoniously fitted into these characterizations. Everything, down to the very contours, is expressive of intellectual refinement and subtle humanity. No one feature is dominant. Full of wisdom and honours, the master, in this year of 1517, was sure of himself, gifted with a sweeping eye for the essential—no longer the insistent, probing would-be mind-reader who speaks in the portrait of 1509. The two men resemble each other. Individual qualities are ever so slightly worn away. In their almost youthful pre-

1. Julien Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Brussels, 1900, Pl. 11, 3. Oddly enough, Quentin's authorship of this medallion is here disputed, and instead he is credited with one dating from 1491 and showing a woman full-face, with the circumscription *Cristina Metsys*. Cf. R. F. Burckhardt, *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, new series, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 42 ff.

occupation, reminiscent of St. John the Evangelist, they approach an ideal that had slowly taken form within the master.

The old man in the Musée André (51, Plate 53), signed with the master's full name and the date, 1513, is in the sharpest profile against a white ground. This is no portrait, but rather a character study in the nature of genre, based on a Leonardo drawing. There was such a drawing, by Leonardo's hand—or a copy by one of his disciples—which W. Hollar etched (Plate 52). It shows the head of a man agreeing in essential traits with Quentin's florid oldster, side by side with a repulsive old woman with whom Massys was likewise familiar, as we shall see. Massys must have owned, or had before him, the drawing Hollar engraved, or one very similar. Van Fornebergh, in Alost, saw *eenighe ouwbollighe Monstreuse Tronnyen, Mans en Vrouwen* by Massys. The master seems to have been fond of doing excessively mis-shapen heads, in contrasting pairs or in sequences, stimulated by those drawings of Leonardo that have been called caricatures.

The manner in which he went beyond his model is not easy to explain. With pedantic diligence and extreme verisimilitude, he set down a creature that is essentially unreal, a pen-and-ink exercise in black-and-white. Leonardo indulged himself zealously in excesses of imaginative draughtsmanship, but it would have never occurred to him to elaborate one of his sketches into a painting. What Quentin did was to take a drawing in the Italian tradition and fit it out with a wealth of individual detail and colourful realism, probably borrowed from a living model, so that his painting was actually reckoned a portrait. He made a ghost come alive, took seriously what started as a joke. The result of this painstaking and masterful job borders on the sedulous realism that so irks us in waxwork museums.

What was Quentin after? What passed through the minds of his patrons, when they commissioned, accepted, acquired, hung pictures of this character? Curiosities of nature, monsters, stereotypes of ugliness—all these titillated the beholder. And precisely a master like Massys, with his love and understanding of pleasing form, must have been tempted to contrast the beautiful with the repulsive, for reciprocal enhancement. There was, after all, a pillorying judgment behind this style of creation, a lesson in morality. We encounter ugliness cheek by jowl with beauty in Quentin's Passions and Martyrdoms. There beauty is holy, ugliness evil. Passion and vice disfigure the body, just as faith and purity ennoble it. His senile cynic stands brutally revealed, boastful of his wrinkled visage and drooping jowls that bear the telltale marks of every vice.

Genre actually had its roots in devotional painting, whence it proliferated, finally bursting forth from the altarpiece and achieving autonomy. It naturally tended towards caricature, for even in ecclesiastical art the evil foemen of Christ and the saints partook of the nature of genre. A certain cheerless gravity, however, was also carried over from church and chapel into the young art of genre painting. *The Money Changer and His Wife*, in the Louvre (53, Plate 51), painted in 1514 and apparently secular in conception, is filled with a lofty sadness, in the spirit of an altarpiece. We probe for deeper meaning, for we miss here the familiar companionship and proximity of people on our own level. This is scarcely a piece of reality, but rather a symbolic representation, susceptible to more than one interpretation. Why is the woman glancing over towards her husband with such a

worried air? Is it because he clings to the things of this earth? Or is the tempting clink of gold distracting her from her pious pursuit—even though she appears to have been leafing through her prayer book but mechanically and inattentively? The solemn and melancholy expression, which the man shares despite his preoccupation with worldly matters, provides no answer. In any event, jeweller's scale and prayer book, worship of God and of the Golden Calf, calculating avarice and concern for salvation are surely here contrasted.

This pictorial concept of Quentin's which, true enough, may reach back to Jan van Eyck², was the progenitor of a whole generation of unsparing, if not brutal representations.

Marinus van Reymerswaele, especially, often repeated this motive in his loud-mouthed way. Genre painting, which burgeoned between 1530 and 1550, with lifesize half-length figures, virtually subsisted on facial scurrility. Jan Massys, Jan van Hemessen, Marinus and still others raised sensationalism to bombastic dimensions. The demand for grotesque must have been a powerful stimulus. Massys was the first to meet it, although admittedly with Leonardo's help.

C. Justi has astutely noted that one of Patenier's famous great landscapes in the Prado (31, Plate 35) includes figures by Quentin's hand. His observation is confirmed in an inventory in the Escorial, where this panel, a *Temptation of St. Anthony*, is listed as being by *Maestre Coyntin y M. Joachim*. The 'worthy landscape painter,' to quote Dürer's description of Patenier, also added a very fine landscape to a Madonna by Joos van Cleve, as reported by van Mander³. Two and even three painters often worked on a single picture. This kind of collaboration, which took excessive forms in the 17th century, especially in Antwerp, began as early as 1520. It implied a dubious division of labour, a pernicious specialization. A figure painter who grew accustomed to depend on another to do his landscape background was all too likely to neglect integrating it with his own work, at the expense of the total impression. We know, of course, that Massys was on familiar term with Patenier—after the landscape painter had died, he served as guardian to Patenier's orphaned daughters⁴. The *Temptation*, created between 1515 and 1524, during Patenier's Antwerp period, features a group of rather large figures, their luminous flesh standing out from the dark forest green. Patenier set the stage for his collaborator with broad rolling hillocks of lighter tint. The saint, a lean figure in dark clothing, his back to the beholder, sits on a rise in the ground, fending off three women who approach him with their blandishments. He is in complex motion, supporting himself with his left hand in the back, his right hand raised in a gesture of rebuff, his face turned to the front to avoid the tempting spectacle. The dainty maidens, stylishly dressed, bend forward like willowy swans, merrily teasing and toying with the saint. One of them has placed her hand caressingly on the back of his neck, another proffers him an apple, the third stretches out both arms invitingly. Behind his back lurks a demoniac crone, gesturing lecherously. An air of overwhelming sensual temptation speaks from the thrice-repeated theme of naïve grace.

A memorable painting of the Virgin that documents Quentin's close ties with Leonardo is preserved in the Raczyński collection at the Poznań museum (19, Plate 24). The Virgin, seated and in full-length, leans forward to clasp with both hands her child who is about to bestride a lamb. The composition follows the same

2. The Anonimo of Morelli, in Milan, saw a painting of a merchant settling accounts with an assistant, both in half-length, and by either van Eyck or Memling. Cf. Vol. 1, p. 68.

3. German edition, Vol. 1, p. 211.

4. Antwerp Guild Registers, as published, Vol. 1, p. 83.

happy inspiration Leonardo used in his *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, in Paris. If Massys did not know this painting, he must have been familiar with one like it, or with a drawing embodying the basic idea. Leonardo attracted him, met him half-way. A certain kinship of mind is discernible between the Italian and the Netherlander. Leonardo's fertile imagination, toying with the varieties of the human face and its range of expression, with the complex, intertwined movements of lissom Mediterranean bodies, was a source from which Massys enriched himself. The acute scientific insight blended with pictorial resourcefulness in Leonardo served him as a lofty and remote model. It is unlikely that he saw very much of Leonardo's work. But he eagerly fed upon whatever got within his reach.

The mischievous child, boyishly slender, has one leg hooked over the lamb's back as he roguishly cocks his head at the mother dandling him.

The line of the horizon is high, and the landscape, with its many horizontal parallels, does not altogether match the Italian mood, stretching away in alien harshness from the pyramidal arrangement of the figures. Quentin's own approach to the countryside is different—more 'romantic,' with its wavy lines and hills and towers. Almost certainly, he did not do this meticulously seen background, which was probably added by Patenier.

The Rem altarpiece, whose dismembered parts formerly hung in Munich and Nuremberg, mistakenly catalogued as works of Patenier, is now in the Pinakothek (3, Plate 8), properly assembled and with its overpainting removed. It is a small triptych of unusual composition, for it lacks a proper focus, the centre panel showing side by side the Trinity and the Virgin on prickly, convoluted late Gothic consoles. It looks like a diptych itself. Inside left is the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, on the right St. Roch, while on the outside St. Luke and St. Anne with the Virgin and child are shown in grisaille. As we see it today, the altarpiece is not completely intact. It was originally saddle-shaped at the top rather than squared off. At bottom centre are the twin arms of the merchant Lucas Rem and his wife Anne, whom he wed in 1518. Since the name saints of this Augsburg couple appear on the outside of the shutters, it is scarcely in dispute that Rem commissioned the altarpiece, probably in 1518 or later—unless we are to assume, improbably, that Rem, who repeatedly visited Antwerp between 1508 and 1518, ordered it prior to his marriage, having the name saints and arms added later. Rem's highly informative diary has come down to us. He was almost constantly abroad in his younger years and was often ill when he was older. In Portugal, in 1505, he was spared by the plague. It is quite plausible that he should have invoked the divinities and saints represented in the altarpiece—the Saviour, the Virgin, St. Sebastian and St. Roch.

The paintings on the outer shutters are mediocre by comparison and seem to have been done in Quentin's workshop rather than by himself. When the shutters are open, a certain unevenness obtrudes. In fact, only a few portions of the altarpiece are of high quality, mainly St. Sebastian and the Virgin. The figure of St. Roch displays startling defects.

The Adoration, sold to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (8, Plate 15) from the collection of R. Kann, Paris, displays the figure 26 in the ornamentation of a pilaster, which surely indicates that it was painted in 1526. In any event, it is a late work, done after 1520, as shown by the ornamental design, which is in the

style of the so-called little masters, inaccessible to Massys before that date. He must have taken this form of decoration from somewhere, presumably an engraving.

The squarish picture is crowded, for the Magi and their retinue press forward in a dense and turbulent throng, gesticulating in wild curiosity rather than subsiding into devout contemplation. In between the large heads we glimpse effulgent embroidery, vessels, arms, neck-chains. There is neither air nor landscape, nor the illusion of space, despite the marked foreshortening of some of the figures. The Kings, coming from far away, represent the whole world and its peoples. His eyes attuned to unfamiliar racial types from his residence in a port, Massys shapes the aquiline or snub noses and thick lips of Semite and Negro. The Virgin's head is of mature beauty, softly framed in linen, aloof. The child, hugging himself like an infant, perches like a bundle on his mother's hands.

The *Rattier Madonna* in the Louvre (24, Plate 28) was painted a year before the master's death. It tells of first things and last. The Virgin is shown in half-length in a chamber. A window is half-open on a steep and rocky view. On the table surface below are fruit, a glass, a plate, a knife. This still life of good things—which Joos van Cleve too was fond of adding, in token of solid, homespun domesticity—here harmonizes with the air of bedroom comfort. In age and in the formation of the lithe and slender body, the boy resembles the one borrowed from Leonardo in the *Raczynski Madonna*. In an imperious quest for love, he hugs his mother and kisses her, before she kisses him. The posture is depicted with consummate skill. The Virgin's face is strongly reminiscent of that in the New York *Adoration*.

These works, dated with varying degrees of precision, give us a few landmarks, which we can join in an evolutionary chain. We must, of course, be prepared for departures and reversals of all kinds and on no account demean any general trend we perceive to the pedantic purpose of arranging undated works in a rigid chronological sequence.

From the gloomy and oppressive ecclesiastical languor of the town where he was born, Massys strove towards bright radiance and festive colour. Towards the end of his career, he favoured forms that were 'picturesquely' soft and harmonious in tint. By 1510, his analytical instinct was out in full force, later to be succeeded by a more sweeping and contemplative vision. His basic predilection for Southern themes was centred on Leonardo da Vinci. More and more, both the body and the soul of man moved into the focus of his work. It was a long time before he parted with the Gothic approach in architecture and ornament. Last of all, and not without Leonardo's help, he overcame his tendency towards tense, tightly organized, relieflike composition, with its even filling of the foremost picture space. In the late works, the once-spare forms with their pure contours begin to swell and expand. By 1520, the mobility of his bodies had increased into a playful, nervously gesturing agility. In his old age, there was the expected lessening of inward identification that stems from workshop routine.

I shall now enumerate, grouped by subject, paintings other than those already singled out, which I acknowledge to be by the master's hand. Along the way, thematically identical or similar works will be brought into conjunction and compared, allowing stylistic distinctions characteristic of various phases to emerge with

clarity. First will come the story-telling altarpieces, followed by the statically representative devotional pictures, especially Madonnas and individual saints, and finally the genre pieces and portraits.

In the Palace of the Doges at Venice a painting is preserved that should perhaps be considered as an original by Quentin's hand (11, Plate 17). It is a *Christ Shown to the People*, showing the Saviour facing to the front and visible almost to the knees, exhausted and standing upright only with difficulty, the long-bearded Pilate beside him gesticulating with both hands. The essence of the picture lies in the pitiable, pain-contorted features of the Saviour, the hands of the Procurator, pointing as he addressed the crowd, and the vicious visages of the three executioners. Pilate's wide face is neither friendly nor hostile, merely vacuous and insipid. The verdict is left to the crowd, whose place the beholder takes. Behind the group of figures runs a complexly divided vertical wall of stone, with a column surmounted by an entanglement of thorns in masonry, reminiscent of the capital in the Rem altarpiece. Judging from its expansive format, the panel can scarcely have been done before 1520.

One of Quentin's oddest compositions, with many more figures, is another *Christ Shown to the People* in private hands in Madrid (10, Plate 16), which has not been mentioned before to my knowledge. Jesus, amid a rabble of ferocious soldiers, stands beside Pilate behind a balustrade in front of what seems to be a town hall, while down below three men, their hands upraised, are shown at bust-length. The oblique arrangement is novel and provocative in effect, for the row of figures above, with the Saviour in the middle, runs diagonally down to the right, lending the composition the aspect of a left shutter in an altarpiece rather than a panel standing on its own. The superabundantly embellished façade of the palace is seen in perspective from below and falls away steeply. The work is almost overendowed with character studies, ornament and figurework, and its atmosphere of tension and effort is matched only in the great Antwerp altarpiece. The architecture is a curious hotchpotch of Gothic and Renaissance elements in close juxtaposition and sharp contrast, and I should therefore put this panel about 1515.

There is a group of paintings, Crucifixions or Calvarys with small figures, on which erroneous judgments have been pronounced. Now that their mistaken attribution to Patenier has begun to cease, Quentin's name has been mentioned with more or less assurance in connection with some items in this series. Best of the lot is a panel, rounded at the top, in the Liechtenstein gallery (12, Plate 18), with figures that stand almost like dummies in, or rather before a landscape. Jesus hangs from the lofty tree of a cross in the middle, while the Virgin stands with head averted from the dreadful sight, hands interlaced at her waist, with St. John on the other side, his hands raised to his throat, and Mary Magdalene, on her knees, clasping the base of the cross in both arms. The countryside is bathed in daylight and shows a town in great detail, extending along the foot of tall mountains. The buildings include two rotundas and a proud city hall.

In this traditional composition, each figure stands alone, with delicate parsimony of contour, almost like a cut-out. The landscape may have been added by Patenier, which would explain the disjunction between the various elements of the painting.

A second work, another *Crucifixion* rounded at the top, is in the National Gallery,

London (13, Plate 19). It has more figures—two mourning women, in addition to the Virgin, St. John and Mary Magdalene. In formal idiom and in the relationship between the slender, willowy figures and the landscape, this panel, touched up in part, comes very close to the one in Vienna.

The remaining three altarpieces that have been considered in this connection are much inferior. This is true of the so-called Rohrau Triptych in the Harrach gallery, Vienna (57, Plate 56), as well as of those in the Mayer van den Bergh museum in Antwerp (56, Plate 55) and the Brussels museum (58, Plate 57).

The centre panels of the Vienna and Antwerp triptychs agree in respect of the figure group, except that the one in the Harrach gallery includes the thieves on the cross and several additional figures. Mary Magdalene and St. John coincide not only in these two, but also with these two figures in the Liechtenstein panel. This evidence of copying, compiling and the use of drawings or cartoons points to a regular workshop industry, with students and assistants working in partial or complete independence. So far as we know, Massys never repeated himself in the devotional panels he painted with his own hand, nor would this fit in with the view we get of his character. The shutters of these two triptychs do not represent his art at its height. The altarpiece in Brussels is even weaker and evidently the work of an imitator.

By no stretch of the imagination can these works be explained on the theory that they are youthful works. The donors' portraits in the Antwerp altarpiece alone preclude an early date, from the style of dress⁵. Another reason why a date around 1520 for this group cannot be in doubt is that the Crucified Christ, especially in the Liechtenstein panel, agrees closely with that in the Rem altarpiece, which can have scarcely been done before 1518⁶.

On a level with the best pieces in this group, as concerns general character, quality and date, is a small *Lamentation* in the Louvre (16, Plate 21).

Our store is significantly enriched with three panels, the remainder of a more voluminous altarpiece, that came on the London market a few years ago, allegedly from Portugal. One of these almost square panels, showing *Women at the Tomb of Christ* (4C, Plate 11), is presently in the hands of a Berlin art dealer. A second, a *Presentation in the Temple* (4B, Plate 9), and the third, a *Flight into Egypt* (4A, Plate 9), are still in London. Presumably, at least one panel is missing, if not more, for those that have turned up fail to form a satisfactory whole. The women, three in number, with St. John supporting the Virgin, move relieflike towards the right in the very foreground. The Virgin, raised fingers interlaced, is tenderly escorted away from the place of horror, while one of the women, striding ahead, turns back in compassion as she points the way with her hands. In the middleground two other women approach in the opposite direction, one of them identifiable as Mary Magdalene. Directly behind the main group is a sparsely wooded knoll, as in the centre-piece of the great Antwerp altarpiece. On the right is a deep vista on a richly turreted city. The ground of earth and rock, predominantly brown but in an uncommonly broad range of nuances, allows the pure and saturated colours of the robes to stand out in strong luminosity. The sun is setting and the sky is overcast with dark red-lined clouds and red wisps of cloud.

In conception and execution, this singular representation, an autonomous para-

5. Cf. Hulin, in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, under No. 198, where the altarpiece in the Mayer van den Bergh receives a much more favourable judgment.

6. See page 27, above.

phrase of the gospel story, is one of Quentin's most felicitous creations, in which he entered deeply into the solemn dignity of the entombment, the sense of family mourning with its emphasis on femininity. In intensity of expression, depth of feeling and formal beauty spiritualized by sorrow, this panel ranks beside the famous Antwerp altarpiece.

The *Presentation* is organized in such a way that the altar table in the middle bisects most of the figures at the waist. Only two in the foreground, on either side of the table, are shown at full length, a woman with a basket and the bearded priest who holds the tiny infant Jesus in both his hands. The heads in the middleground, all nearly on a level, are closely banked, overlapping in such a way that some show only part of the face—an eye, a bit of the nose. In terms of facial expressions, the panel seems overloaded, in other respects rather empty.

The temple interior is deepened in the rear with three arched niches, shown in strict symmetry. Table and walls are parallel to the picture surface.

The third piece, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, shows the Virgin resting at left and holding the child who is seated on a rock and whom Joseph, standing at centre, is proffering an apple. An ass is grazing at right. The landscape is richly elaborated, with rocky mountains and buildings. Customarily, this traditional theme showed the homely idyll of the Holy Family, safe and sound in the wilderness, but Massys instead bemoans the fate of hunted, persecuted innocence, without a roof over its head. Mary is weeping. Possibly we have but three portions of a cycle, *The Seven Sorrows of Mary*.

The altarpiece to which these three panels belong cannot have been painted much later than the great Antwerp altarpiece.

A *Lamentation* (14, Plate 21) that appeared on the Paris art market a few years ago resembles the centre panel of the Antwerp altarpiece in the number of figures and their relationship to landscape and area, though the grouping itself is looser. The heads are farther apart, at less regular intervals. There is more air, more space. The sky with its dark clouds and the countryside stretching away in the dusk contribute strongly to the mood. Movement is more casual, local colour less open and radiant. The defects in this panel must be laid at the door of its imperfect state. I put it at about 1520.

A very modest fragment, preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (34, Plate 38), gives us knowledge of a Passion panel that belonged to one of Quentin's mature masterpieces. It shows the head of a weeping woman, her hands near her throat. Judging from the modelling, soft and mild in the extreme, the lost devotional painting, presumably a *Lamentation*, belonged to a rather late period.

In the sequence of Massys Madonnas that have come down to us, the *Virgin Enthroned*, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (18, Plate 23), is physically the largest, showing the full figure approximately lifesize. If it fails to make a monumental impression in keeping with its dimensions, this is owing to the slight volume of the figure, which is relieflike in conception. Weight and space have been sacrificed to clarity, purity and airy tints. The intimacy of the kiss is at odds with any air of solemnity, as are the still life details, the delicacies shown on the table in the foreground in orderly array and painstaking, almost over realistic technique.

The Virgin is enthroned on a masonry seat of Gothic configuration, adorned

with Quentin's polished, multi-coloured columns. The back wall is airily open to the outdoors, allowing brightness to stream in from behind. The slender-limbed, boyish child, half-seated, half-kneeling, presses his lips to those of his mother.

Presumably this panel, now terminating above in an arch and curves, once extended upwards in a rich plastic frame that continued the painted architecture, greatly enhancing the three-dimensional effect. It was done earlier than the *Rattier Madonna* (1529), which is similar in motive, probably contemporaneously with the *Raczynski Madonna*?, rather before than after 1520.

The *Virgin Standing*, in the museum at Lyons (27, Plate 31-32), lives in my memory as a filigree-like jewel. A deep, complex hall encloses the figure, which shines forth delicately, yet appears large, compared with the structure. Architecture and ornament are shaped as though by an imaginative goldsmith at the critical juncture of the Gothic and Renaissance. The wide, 'painterly' range of the adornments, chiselled in a prickly style, is enhanced by colour. A venerable traditional motive, this *Virgin Standing*, in white, her robe falling away in gentle billows, is here transported into Quentin's own inimitable idiom.

A *Virgin with Child* in half-length, auctioned with the Aynard collection (21, Plate 25), is akin in the Virgin's type and in the posture of the child to the panel at Lyons. A few old-fashioned features—the rayed halo, the flinty harshness of the landscape background, the stiff treatment of the hair—bespeak a relatively early origin.

A *Virgin Enthroned*, with an angel on either side (26, Plate 30), has entered the von Pannwitz collection from private hands in Spain, by way of the London art market. It is a refulgent work of the late period. Every trace of the Gothic has been expunged from the severe architecture. The throne is of smooth-faced stone, with pilasters surmounted by shoulder-pieces and volutes and surfaces animated with paintings. Mother and child move with triumphant freedom, in the spirit of the Renaissance. The child's arm, extended far out, is instinct with life, as is the mother's hand, reaching for a flower. The draping of the Virgin's robe is extravagantly baroque in its sweep and intricate folds, of a kind we do not encounter elsewhere in such abundance.

A rather overcleaned Madonna (22, Plate 27) was sold with the Warneck collection of Paris. In softness of flesh tones and Leonardesque sweetness, it comes close to the *Rattier Madonna*, hence must have been painted at a rather late date. The child, playfully chucking his mother under the chin, smiles with lips slightly parted. The figures stand out brightly against the dark foil of the forest wall.

A painting acquired a few years ago for the National Gallery in London (28, Plate 34), done in water colours on canvas, cannot be immediately compared with the other Madonnas, and its dating too poses a problem. It differs in technique and stands quite alone. In the middle, seen full-face and visible to the knees, is the Virgin with the child in her lap turning to the left and slipping a ring on the finger of St. Catherine. The Virgin herself is receiving a wreath from St. Barbara who stands on the right. In the middle, behind the Virgin, against an architecturally complex wall, hangs a light-coloured, patterned cloth. By and large, the picture makes a dim and dull impression, but this is attributable to the technique and the lamentable state of virtually all paintings done in it. It is probably not as early as we are inclined

7. See pp. 25f, above.

to believe. Indeed, in the face of this instinctive first impression, I think it was painted at a rather late date, for in configuration, type and posture, the infant Jesus shows much resemblance with the child in the New York *Adoration*, presumably painted in 1526, and certainly not very much earlier.

In the whole great congregation of holy men and women, no figure was so calculated to set Master Quentin's imagination in motion as the repentant Mary Magdalene. She was a favourite of all the Netherlandish painters early in the 16th century, usually providing no more than a pretext for serving up a pretty, graceful and richly attired female. The *Mary Magdalene*, in half-length, in the museum at Antwerp (35, Plate 39), epitomizes Massys. Whoever is mindful of the many half-length figures by his compatriots and contemporaries will be aware of the special character that puts Quentin in a class by himself. Compared with him, how obtuse, thick-skinned and superficial are the others, how widely do they miss the mark! His Magdalene has risen from venery and suffering to spiritualized beauty. Her whole fate, the story of her purification may be read in the subtle and meaningful expression in this face.

Massys rounded the top of this panel, and this rounded frame over his Magdalene forms an almost concentric circle with the curves of her head and shoulders, vouchsafing the harmony of the whole composition. The dark vaulting of the gallery fits into this circular system, which is broken by the vertical elements of the vessel and the polished column, as well as the soaring, castle-like Gothic buildings in the background. The overall atmosphere is one of diffuse brightness. The face, framed in dark hair, is almost as light in tint as the sky. The left forearm is held horizontally, parallel to the frame, cutting off the figure at half-length, and it is encased in a sleeve that throws deep and generous folds.

Mary Magdalene is dressed in the height of fashion and she lifts the vessel's lid with her little finger daintily withdrawn, as though letting out a secret. She is turned a little to one side and her eyes are downcast towards the other side, with lids half-closed, in a gesture of rebuff, as though our gaze had offended her.

The master's powers of imagination were attracted to only a slight degree by male saints—indeed, by heroic and statuesque figures. What fascinated him was to imprint character on a face, whether in massive portrait or at half-length. The Saviour and the Virgin of Sorrows side by side were repeatedly depicted in the latter format in Quentin's workshop and by his imitators. This theme had been developed especially in Dieric Bouts's circle in Louvain, but Quentin gave it new meaning, and we do well to compare his sublime, radiant, anointed Lord with the troubled ascetic from the studios of Louvain. The Antwerp museum owns a specimen of this pair by Quentin's hand that is the best of the lot (5, Plate 12). He created the enduring image of the Saviour, so to speak—remote, visionary gaze, softly modelled nose with strong shadows, lips slightly parted—and this blend of ideal human proportions with sublime hieratic expression met the devotional needs, especially of women, for a long time to come.

The head of a bearded old man in the Cambó collection, Barcelona (30, Plate 36), poses but does not answer the question of whether it is meant to portray a saint, or whether it is a genrelake character study. The head, cocked ever so slightly, appears against a neutral dark ground. The sitter is depicted in a coarse woollen

cassock, and the wiry texture of the white beard is explicitly detailed, in contrast to the silken hair of the head. The powerful nose is a bit too much to profile. The thin upper lip is parted rather widely from the heavy lower, and one can look deeply into the cleft. The eyes are deepset. Despite the grotesque elements, a soul is here laid bare, half saint, half simpleton. The mature softness of form bespeaks a late origin.

A theme that goes back to Leonardo, the boy Jesus and the boy John as playmates, embracing and kissing each other, was particularly popular in the Netherlands about 1520, as documented by a number of panels that have come down to us. Joos van Cleve employed this somewhat saccharine and sentimental composition, and it was copied in his workshop and by his imitators (51). G. Glück has enriched our knowledge by calling attention to a Netherlandish version of this motive that stems, surprisingly, from Massys rather than Joos⁸. This panel is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth (29, Plate 34). It shows the children as we know them from Joos van Cleve's paintings, but there are departures and additions that lend a poetic rationale to the borrowed theme. The painting shows an interior, a room with a bed. Massys the Northerner thought he owed us an explanation why the children are alone and in the nude. The boy Jesus has left his bed to kiss his companion, and his mother, whose head and raised hands are visible above a low door railing, glances fondly at the affectionate group. In this way, the children's demeanour is dramatized as an astonishing early incident, perhaps the first of its kind. Hercules strangled a serpent in his cradle, foreshadowing his career as a hero. The miraculous child Jesus is recognized by his own, when he displays his love of his fellow.

Quentin's imagination insinuated itself deeply into the relationships among people. His eloquence stems from the contrasts he presents. Such obvious opposites as fair and ugly, old and young, sacred and profane, man and woman are given new and startling dimension. Its wealth of contrast makes life a worthy field for pictorial documentation. The growing art of genre painting lived on the polarity of characters.

There is a type of painting that displays contrast raised to the power of two. These are the paintings showing 'ill-matched lovers'—the aging lecher with a young maiden, the amorous crone with a youth. Such paired pictures were turned out in Lucas Cranach's workshop in considerable number. Massys, stimulated perhaps by the caricatures of Leonardo, was the first to develop this type in the Netherlands, so far as we know. Indeed, Cranach may have been set off by Massys.

We have only one pair of *Ill-Matched Lovers* from Quentin's hand, in the Pourtalès collection in Paris (54, Plate 54). The two large figures, at half-length, are side by side against a neutral dark ground—the leering oldster and the trollop, smiling seductively. She allows herself to be fondled, the while getting hold of his purse, which she passes to a young buck in cap-and-bells who licks the corner of his mouth as he silently gloats over the trick. The cross-pattern of reaching arms pithily expresses the ancient theme of venal love, the interplay of lechery and avarice, in comic terms. The explicit lesson is that folly finds its own reward.

A sharply seasoned character study, loaded with explosive contrast, is *The Ugly Duchess*, which Waagen properly evaluated, when it was in the H. D. Seymour

8. *Pantheon*, Vol. 1, 1929, pp. 502 ff.

collection (52, Plate 52)⁹. It is now in the possession of Mr. Hugh Blaker. It shows a grotesquely mis-shapen woman in ostentatiously rich and fanciful attire, of a kind calculated to accent feminine charm, but here used for the brazen display of repulsive decay and monstrous malformation. Here is an apparition, a nightmare, presented with punctilious realism, elaborated with pedantic technique and thoroughness. Even more conscientiously than the male profile in the Musée André, this painting follows a Leonardo drawing, apparently on the same sheet. Yet the shrew does not seem to have been painted as a counterpiece to the cynical old gaffer, even though we must assume that both were done at about the same time, around 1513.

Massys was not a portraitist in the sense of Memling or Joos van Cleve. He did not paint likenesses for a living. The surprising thing about what portraits he did do is that so many of them were casually painted, in such variety and with such freedom from routine and professional sloth. Quentin developed no system of portraiture to which he clung, but rather treated each case on its own merits, according to the type of sitter who posed for him. His portraits are all different—in posture, composition, background and ‘props.’ They may be square-topped or arched above, bust-length, with or without hands, or half-length. The background may be neutral or consist of a landscape, an interior, an architectural framework. The attitude may be tranquil or agitated. Every possibility is explored and nothing is ever repeated.

None of the portraits by Quentin’s hand that have become known to me seems to have been painted much earlier than 1509, i.e. before the panel in the Reinhart collection, dated that year, which is more studied and richer in detail than any other.

The following portraits, which I regard as Quentin’s work, were presumably painted between 1510 and 1520:

Portrait of a Man, at bust-length, hands not showing, in the collection of V. Hahn, Berlin (40, Plate 45). There are broad areas of positive local colour—blue in the ground, red in the hat. The contours are firm and contained and invest the face, which has the character of a medallion, with an archaic character.

Portrait of a Man, of cavalier bearing, at bust-length, both hands showing, rounded at the top, in the Friedsam collection, New York (41, Plate 45). There is much light in this picture, and the neutral ground itself is fairly light. The flesh tints are mellow. The dominant expression is one of tranquil dignity, although the eyes swerve slightly from the way the head faces.

Portrait of a Man and *Portrait of a Woman*, in the museum at Oldenburg (49-50, Plate 50). This pair of panels is rather empty in form. They may be sections from altarpiece shutters.

Portrait of a Man, at bust-length, hands showing, in the Art Institute, Chicago (47, Plate 48). This panel has a rather light neutral ground. The attitude of the subject is erect, and old-fashioned in effect. The lighting is spotty.

Portrait of a Man, a tondo, in the possession of a London art dealer (44, Plate 45).

Portrait of a Man, in the collection of R. Semmel, Berlin (43, Plate 45). The subject is of mature years, with a prominent nose, and is vigorously modelled in tones of brown against a neutral ground.

Portrait of a Canon, hands showing, landscape background, Liechtenstein gallery, Vienna (39, Plate 44).

Portrait of a Man, evidently a scholar, in the Churchill collection, Northwick Castle (45, Plate 46), in composition not unlike the *Liechtenstein Canon*, but not quite so masterly in every detail.

The following portraits I regard as having been painted at later dates, probably after 1520:

Portrait of a Knight, an adventurous figure in half-length, against a dark neutral ground, in the collection of Lord Amherst (42, Plate 45).

Portrait of a Lady holding a prayer book, shown to the chest, in a framework of painted Gothic architecture, in the Friedsam collection, New York (48, Plate 49). This painting is singularly lighted, with strong reflections in the face.

Portrait of a Man, at half-length, in the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (46, Plate 47). One hand is raised in an eloquent, expansive gesture. The vigorous modelling is in tones of brown. In the background, a landscape.

The mere formal details of the features no longer satisfied Quentin's growing insight into the human mind. More and more, he encompassed the essence of the individual, in terms of stature, attitude, expression and gesture. He was not content to portray his sitters in a neutral, unemotional state of mind. What he was after was to open up and lay bare the essential personality in momentary action. His portraits, especially the later ones, arouse curiosity and pose questions, like the title pages of unwritten biographies. The people he depicts establish a rhetorical rapport with us, almost like actors. We want to know who this man was, what was his rôle, the destiny that shaped his features, and we look for it among the personages of whom history tells us. The master invests his sitters with an air of intellectual superiority, subtlety of mind and nervous tension.

There is no better measure of Quentin's creative drive than the drama and pathos of his portraits. Portraiture all too often inhibits the subjective element in the work, in favour of calculating objectivity and observation. Beside the carefully balanced, almost classical portraits of Holbein, Quentin's are labile and, in a sense, romantic. They ask more questions than they answer. People who have ceased to hope that they will be fully understood express themselves with something of the torment of the deaf mute.

The Character of Master Quentin

36

When one has immersed oneself in Quentin's world, one begins to feel exalted, borne up from the brown earth as if into a crystal sphere. It is holiday, but not a day of idle, casual merriment, rather a day of solemn remembrance; and what is remembered is a death that was at once a triumph over death. No sack-cloth and ashes are donned in mourning, but bright robes as clear as blossoms.

We are in the company of men of stature, women of lofty sentiment, children wise beyond their years.

Massys thought of himself as an innovator, one who had risen above ignorant barbarism in art. In place of angular form, he put the round, the smooth, the lissom, revelling in the ceaseless melody of flowing wavy lines. He spiritualized the body. New fillips he may have sought, but in technique and composition he clung to the traditions of Netherlandish art.

From Louvain he went to Antwerp, the port that was about to become the capital of Northern trade, the melting-pot of cultures. Here, in the whirling currents that came from all about, the old dissolved, while from chaos arose the new. Massys walked sure-footedly through it all, always going his own way, always distinguishing himself, whether by the originality of his compositions, the high polish of his panels, or an aroma compounded of perfume, blood and incense. His driving ambition is ever in evidence—the urge to express his innermost feelings. Yet in a time when all art was in crisis, he was in danger of landing in cold calculation, or mannered affectation.

The life of the mind had been all of one piece in the Middle Ages, ruled by faith. But now it split and ramified, and differences began to mark the branches. Commerce and politics and secular scholarship emancipated themselves from the Church; but what religion lost in dominion, it gained in depth of soul. Faith, under bitter attack, was preached all the more passionately. What had been daily bread became holiday fare. Harmless things, accepted by everyone, were suddenly the prerogative of an intolerant community that shut itself away and was proud of exclusiveness. Zealous scepticism grew from the struggle for faith—sectarianism and rationalism, but also fanaticism and ecstatic cults.

In the Middle Ages, the gospel story had seemed quite rational, accessible to the tranquil intellect, but now it assumed the aspect of a mystery that could be apprehended only by surrender to the emotions, to the most intense inner feelings. Under the hands of Dürer and Grünewald, pathos was enhanced to tragic virile power; but Massys turned it in the direction of an intensely feminine ecstasy. The faithful feel themselves persecuted, their delicate sensibilities are offended. Massys looks down upon the common people who indulge their instincts with heathen unconcern. Only those who mourn for Jesus are beautiful in their sorrow—although even this has a small admixture of vanity and arrogance. Yet they do preserve a decent dignity and moderation in the face of their ordeal, they know themselves to be superior, for in contrast to the dull-witted world they partake of the Passion and of

Salvation, through friendship, family ties or thoughtful discipleship. Not for them vulgar outbursts, but rather elegiac complaints that reverberate, together with careful recovery and custody of the Body. The mourning party are well aware they are interring the world's Redeemer. The women resemble converted sinners. Quentin's imagination centres more and more upon man. Space, architecture and landscape become mere accessories. The contemplation of man breaks down into three aspects—the problem of individuality in portraits; the ideal epitome of beauty in the devotional picture; and the sport of nature, the grotesque. The body is ever a fragile vessel, thin-walled and transparent, easily given to overflowing with tears, opening in the gape of a mouth. Pain and longing, pity and affection, shame and tender stirrings—all the affects at all capable of moving a sensitive organism prod and bend Quentin's bodies. Never are his figures in inert equilibrium. They are always poised on razor's edge, caught at the moment between two situations. A firm skeleton is lacking to give stability to these bodies, organs of groping, divining senses. Motion is moderated not only by tact, consideration and proper self-control, but because the directions in which it could take place are limited. Quentin's people reach and progress almost exclusively in currents parallel to the picture surface. With a few exceptions, his compositions are in the restrictive relief mode, which gives them a measured, calculated, contained air. The figure groups are to the fore, close to us, in a single stratum. Interest in both the physical and psychological features is thrown into one pot—the daylight is usually of uniform brightness.

Massys composes like a tapestry designer and executes even large figures like a miniaturist. Yet the woven image is subject to stylistic laws of its own, laws that differ from those of painting. The character of the technique as well as the particular use of wall-hangings influence invention and composition. True, the art of tapestry was by no means clear-cut and autonomous in the Netherlands of the 15th century, for panel painters invaded this neighbouring province, providing cartoons, and designs for cartoons. The two species of art were, therefore, in touch with each other. Yet tapestry was the monumental art par excellence of the Netherlands. The whole character of the art called for large area and large scale. If the fabric was to exert its illusion as a picture, the beholder had to stand some distance away. Panel painting, on the other hand, was small-scale art by origin and national character.

Quentin Massys is ordinarily regarded a painter in the grand style. A prejudice stands in the way of an understanding and a recognition of his pieces with small figures. Evidently he strove for the monumental; his technique, however, was rooted in miniature painting, and the small format seemed natural to him, came easily to hand. His hand was good at reducing the close-up, with its wealth of content—where the born monumentalist merely enlarges the empty long shots. Netherlandish art was amenable to grandeur in tapestry, as Italian art was in fresco. If we think of Brussels tapestry, vintage of about 1510, when we stand before Quentin's large panels; if such tapestries, on the other hand, remind us of Massys—his inventions, his idealized beauty, his postures and movement—there are at least two explanations, equally fruitful, if not valid. Memories of tapestry were bound to flash into his mind during the ambitious and slightly unnatural undertaking of filling large panels with paintings; and the painters who, in his time, provided cartoons to the tapestry weavers may not have ignored his art. The bright aspect of

Quentin's mature works stems from his sensual pleasure in pure, positive and choice pigments, as well as from his eagerness to show everything as plainly as possible, to display his full knowledge of form. This is what lends his panels a certain primitive aspect, as though we were in an atmosphere at high altitude, and as though the space were not of very great depth—even though the master was fully conversant with the rules of perspective, both in line and space. The wide areas of colour play a crucial part in the picture area. They are sublime colours, indeterminate, expressive in themselves, like precious jewels, coruscating and opalescent.

The master's incomparably acute and sensitive feeling for line, responsive to the most delicate variations in form, especially of the flesh, keeps his attention rivetted to detail, as does his infinitely subtle brush technique, equal to any texture, any material, and able to create the complete illusion of skin and hair, silk, fur, polished stone, linen, wool, metal.

Man is always at the centre and in the foreground. A hand is almost as eloquent concerning the sitter's state of mind and the trend of his desires as is the face. Massys devoted the most painstaking study to long, narrow, aristocratic hands, mobile and expressive. He often turns them so that the palm can be seen, the part from whose lines fortune-tellers read the subject's character and destiny. Man covers and protects himself with the back of the hand out. In showing his palm, he reveals his emotional side, as he does in a gaping mouth.

Massys was deliberately intent upon dignifying holiness with handsome features, noble stature and pure outlines, upon propagandizing on behalf of devoutness. He used beauty and sentiment for purposes of mutual enhancement.

The antagonists of the Saviour and of the saints, raging and slavering in unrestrained effrontery and satanic glee, are held up to contempt by being shown mis-shapen, with ill-assorted limbs. Everywhere Quentin's calculating nature employs contrast to bring out his points dramatically. To cite but one example, the tiny helplessness of the infant Jesus in the temple scene, *The Presentation*, is underlined by the fact that the priest's beard alone is large enough to conceal the child's body completely.

Quentin's landscapes are away by themselves, filling the background without relation to the figures. He observes everything at a distance—buildings, the growth of trees, the formations of the ground, even the phenomena of light, although dark clouds and dusk in the background do not prevent him from showing the figures in the foreground in clear, diffuse daylight.

He never sacrifices clarity and beauty to a single scheme of illumination, consistently carried out, nor does he submerge formal detail in spatial unity. No human trait is left blurred or diminished in relation to space and light. With the illusion of the locale lessened, his figures, no matter how carefully rounded each may be, do not create an effect of three-dimensional volume that can be fully encompassed, but instead look more like reliefs. Jutting rock walls often form the background for such relief work. Quentin's countryside is rolling and hilly, sprinkled with castles and towers, dissolved in light and made up of small units. Since we know that Massys concentrated on the human figure, while Patenier, a specialist in landscape, collaborated with him on at least one occasion in a painting; and since we also know he had helpers in his workshop, we must always take into account the possibility that

the master, especially in the paintings from his last period, left the execution of landscape backgrounds to others. Like Patenier, Cornelis Massys was a landscape specialist, and during the last years of his father's life he was presumably working in the Massys studio.

In architecture and ornament, Massys cast loose only slowly from the Gothic style. Loose latticed forms came more naturally to his yearning and aspiring mind than firm walls that enclosed and bore weight. His was an age of changing tastes, and occasionally he took over architectural and decorative elements from the South, but this was not done without an inner struggle, nor without relapses. He lacked a proper understanding of the Renaissance and was given to piecing in modern embellishments, feeling perhaps happiest when he could blend Gothic and Renaissance elements in fancifully decorative and colourful profusion. The Renaissance, to him, was a new body of decorative patterns rather than an altogether new approach. His people do not fit into Italian loggias and feel ill at ease there. They are neither robust nor statuesque.

Art historians are wont to judge Netherlandish painters by their relationship to the art of Italy, to view them as progressive and historically significant only in terms of their understanding of Southern form and style. Actually, Netherlandish painting, at the crucial juncture between 1500 and 1520, reached out in all directions, by no means solely for Italian models. A vacuum had arisen and foreign influences rushed in from every side. The propensity for the South must be seen as a symptom of an age in which everything went, of a quest that stemmed from an inner emptiness.

Quentin's work was set into this crisis in style, in Antwerp, moreover, where imported substance was offered in plenty and in manifold form. Deeply and firmly rooted in the soil of the Netherlands, he was as receptive on the one hand as he was blind and inaccessible on the other. He welcomed the faraway Leonardo. With this Italian he felt an affinity. Supple bodies, limbs that intertwined, movement as the expression of mood, the music of drapery, sweet smiles and gentle forms perfectly rounded, the eloquent gesture of a hand, features distorted to grotesqueness—Quentin's Academy was Leonardo alone, or at least a part of Leonardo. His whole disposition, the trend of his aspiration put him on the road at the end of which loomed the Magus of the South to tempt him perilously.

From his progenitors and precursors Massys stands distinguished as a sentimental virtuoso. Approach and mood have become transformed in him, and this is what makes up his modernism, this is why it is possible for historians to account him the leading master of the 16th century, although in many respects he is anything but progressive. Yet the very phase of his being changed under the impact of his mind, growing soft and beginning to flow. The term 'sentimental' applies, in whatever nuance. Quentin's narrative emphasizes and accents the touchingly tender with almost feminine empathy. There is a great deal of weeping and kissing. Outbursts of dramatic vehemence leave the impression of hysterical seizures. The nerves of ancient, overbred clans are reacting to every emotion, as a high-strung instrument sounds at the merest touch. Even when the term 'sentimental' is used in art merely at the other end from 'naïve,' it fits that higher degree of awareness, that alert and even zealous stylistic approach that distinguishes Quentin Massys. His finger points

to ethical conflict. He does not merely relate—he invents, accents, finds the poetic form. He takes religious myth and enriches it from his own person, renews it, refines it, giving it an intensely subjective tinge, a melody of unforgettable sweetness.

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Sentimentality arises from the need of gentle souls to look upon people and what happens between them with pity and compassion. The artist of sentiment is attuned to sorrow, softens and smoothes the tragic. Drama becomes opera, and human grief, artfully veiled in the flow of melody, is self-indulgently accepted by virtue of its inspiring pathos, the while the listener enjoys his own immunity. Sentimentality implies an identification that is only indirect, in low key, with a time lag. The painter, having achieved wisdom, makes a distinction between subject and object, the stage and the audience, reality and art. It pleases him to feel sorrow, and grief takes on mild forms.

'Beauty,' which the naïve artist picks like a ripe plum, is accessible to the sentimental artist only at the end of a quest.

In the presence of Jan van Eyck's works, none would venture to describe that master as a man of exquisite taste and intellectual subtlety, but praise in this key is unhesitatingly heaped upon Massys, who became a virtuoso without breaking with the traditions of Flemish handicraft. It was as a virtuoso that he was welcomed—one whose superlative skill enabled him to burst from the ranks of anonymous craftsmen. And honours and applause reacted upon the work of him who was so celebrated. He was made aware of his extraordinary qualities and, spurred by ambition and a craving for recognition, naturally sharpened those that brought him renown. In the course of time, the term virtuoso has acquired a slightly condescending flavour. We prefer to apply it nowadays to the performing interpreter, the flamboyant reproducer, the artist who approaches art from the outside. It has, indeed, become almost the antithesis of artist, for with deeper understanding of the nature of creative art, we have come to appreciate the all-important power of unconscious, instinctive, spontaneous action. The virtuoso, with his glittering technique, tends to outshine the true artist's straightforward and unassuming creation. Massys was a man who ceaselessly worked on himself, but he was also, if you wish, a social climber, displaying his phenomenal skill in the limelight, carefully planning and staging his every effect; and the term virtuoso fits him, in a sense—not, perhaps, quite in the sense of today, but in an earlier, transitional sense. The new wine he poured into old bottles welled up from a kind of nervous energy—in any event, not from the heart. Of course, seen objectively, art is always distinct from nature. But the art of Quentin Massys is deliberately brought forth as something distinct from nature—an exquisite hot-house plant, scattering an intoxicating scent.

In an age when the 'artist' was extolled in contradistinction to the craftsman, Quentin's laurels were green. When the artist was seen to stand at the opposite end from the virtuoso, his glory was diminished.

The Disciples of Master Quentin

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Whatever the influence that emanated from Quentin Massys, it always included an element of awe for the high standard he succeeded in maintaining. Antwerp was a town receptive to the new, if not eager for it, and from about 1505 there were youthful forces abroad in it, earning ready plaudits. Quentin's precious and sublime style may have soon been felt to be rather antiquated and passé. The younger generation was glad to be rid of so austere a discipline.

Jan Gossart became an Antwerp master in 1503-161. He cut a wide and seductive swath with his great formal skill, virtuoso illusionism and unashamed worldliness. A number of painters, coming from the East, brought to the Schelde port a flowing style of brushwork that was a good deal swifter than the painstaking traditional techniques. The 'Mannerists' with their nimble and glittering effects who began to appear in Antwerp about 1505 ingratiated themselves because they seemed to embody the rhythms of the day, the cosmopolitan pace of the town.

The disciples and followers proper of Massys divide into two distinct generations—the painters who established themselves on their own about 1510, and those who achieved master status about 1530, like Jan and Cornelis Massys. These latter tended to specialize, taking their point of departure from some aspect or other of the master's style, while the first generation followed him much more faithfully, if not slavishly.

Joos van Cleve came to Antwerp in 1511-171. He achieved a measure of success, meeting an appetite that Quentin had whetted, even though he was never in a formal sense his pupil. While following Quentin's style, he was more relaxed in his approach. His forms were less taut, he was altogether more easy-going and expansive in his sense of popular occasion.

We know a rather large number of paintings that look like copies or imitations of Quentin's work (cf. Catalogue B), and several of his followers solidify into tangible personalities, to wit:

The Master of the Morrison Triptych.

The Master of the Mansi Magdalene.

The Master of St. Sang.

The Master of St. Sang (81) actually worked in Bruges, perhaps following an apprenticeship in Antwerp—unless his evident familiarity with Quentin's types and scope can be explained in some other way than by assuming that he shared the master's studio for a while. We shall revert to this painter of modest endowment, when we discuss the Bruges school.

The Master of the Morrison Triptych is a painter of outstanding talent, by no means wanting in resources for individual expression. Unfortunately, access to him is difficult. His title derives from a work that is not in all respects his own—he painted but did not 'invent' it. This is the triptych in the collection of Hugh Morrison (81, Plate 69-70), a copy after Memling's triptych in Vienna¹. It is in the study of this work that the painter's personality begins to emerge.

1. Cf. Vol. 6, No. 9.

The master proceeded—or, at least, intended to proceed—as a conscientious copyist; yet he failed altogether to enter into Memling's formal idiom. In copying Memling, he revealed himself as a disciple or follower of Quentin Massys, as a master who embarked on his career about 1500, probably in Antwerp.

In the centre panel, an angel takes the place of Memling's kneeling donor. The distinguishing thing about him is his freedom of movement, and if he is not the painter's own contribution, he certainly seems to derive from the repertory of some artist other than Memling. In the triptych, his effect is that of a foreign element, breaking an archaic scheme of harmony; and, oddly enough, we find this same angel in a panel by Joos van Cleve² (91), where he sings from a sheet of music in his hands, whereas, in the Morrison Triptych, he is strumming the lute. His posture seems far better motivated by the weight of the lute than the slight sheet of music, and thus we catch Joos van Cleve—by no means for the first time—on the borrowing side. Judging from the style, his Madonna can scarcely have been painted before 1520, presumably much later than the Morrison Triptych³. Whether Joos took his angel from the Master of the Morrison Triptych, or whether both painters drank at one and the same spring, the relationship points unerringly to Antwerp.

The departures from the Bruges model made by the hand of the Master of the Morrison Triptych are improvements from the point of view of the new age, embellishments in Quentin's taste, imaginative and meaningful modifications. The style of the enveloping arch with its figure-work differs widely from Memling's Gothic archway. The angels awkwardly jammed in the soffit are replaced by two children, at ease at some task in a niche. The Gothic architecture itself, with its highly individual grasp of sound cut-stone-work, betokens a relatively early date of origin. If the master was an actual product of the Massys workshop or got his more important ideas thence, his training must have fallen around 1500 rather than 1510. The Virgin's head, in stiff full-face in Memling's original, is here turned and inclined. Master Quentin's approach had become second nature to the painter. The whole spatial configuration and lighting are clearly the personal achievement of the copyist. The shading, especially the direct shadows, glides transparently over the figures. The landscape background, taken over in detail from Memling, has been lowered quite a bit, an 'improvement' that contributes towards widening and deepening the vestibule.

Our attention is drawn particularly to the one figure that is not copied—at least not from Memling—the angel with the lute. He faces front, on one knee, the other foot placed athwart on the ground. His light-coloured garment falls away in a richly animate drape, with deep indentations and strong highlights, skilfully following the *contrapposto* of the limbs. The rounded head, gracefully wholesome, hair falling lightly and loosely over the brow, expresses the master's personality with particular clarity.

It has not been an easy thing to build up the 'œuvre' of this painter, starting with the Morrison Triptych. There is another triptych, as a matter of fact, that seems more suitable as a point of departure. It hangs in the National Gallery in London, and its mysterious fascination cries out for a poetic title—it has been called *The Garden of Eden* (83, Plates 72-73). One of the reasons why it is more suitable as a prototype is that here invention and presentation clearly flow from a single source,

2. Weld Blundell collection, Ince Hall, near Liverpool.

3. A mediocre altarpiece in the museum at Bonn (No. 142), apparently painted about 1530 by one of Joos van Cleve's followers, shows the same composition in the centre panel as the Morrison Triptych, including the lute-playing angel. Koffermans, active about 1560 and painting his old-fashioned devotional pictures after every possible model, also took recourse to this composition (Archæological museum, Madrid).

promising eloquent and consistent evidence concerning its author.

The ancient theme of the Virgin in the company of angels and female saints is here utterly released from hieratic rigidity. Three effects are employed in this poetic composition—a loose and fortuitous grouping of the figures; an imaginatively devised locale; and the light of evening. The space extends unbroken across the centre panel and both shutters. It is a meadow in the woods, bordered in the back by a chapel that is wide of the middle and by leafy trees and cypresses that loom darkly against a light, cloudy sky. The mild light of sunset breaks through their trunks, and the portals and windows of the church shine magically in bright yellow.

In their soft and casual movements, the figures are reminiscent of Massys, but a shimmer lies over the whole, a dreamlike, soaring sense of unreality in an intensely individual key. This vision embracing land, light and people could not have been acquired in Quentin's workshop—nor, for that matter, anywhere else.

The eyes are like dark points in faces that are devoured by light. The drapery billows, but its lines are frugal and contained. It is a singularly inspired work overall, and its exceptional character is hard to explain, but on sharper scrutiny it shows quirks and foibles that recur not only in the Morrison Triptych, but also in other paintings. The body of the infant Jesus—who sits on the ground—looks like an inflated balloon. Eyes, staring or dreamy, lie flat in the head. Flaxen hair hangs down in loose strands. Hands with sausagelike fingers, sometimes bent at the tip, look like blown-up gloves.

The almost musical idiom of the London triptych, veiled in the poetry of light, is articulated with greater firmness in an *Adoration* in the John G. Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (87, Plate 75). A noteworthy feature of it is the division of the figures into two distinct groups, almost as though the panel were composed of two shutters. From a deep indentation in the middle, the composition climbs up the margins of the picture. On the right is the Holy Family with the eldest of the kings, who is kissing the child's hand; on the left are the other two Magi and, looming behind them, their retinue. The centre is left free for a deep vista beyond the Schelde, where the skyline of Antwerp is spread out. Above it arches a lofty sky, studded with clouds. There are the sharpest contrasts of light and dark. Some portions, like the bare, domed head of the ancient king, shine forth clearly, while other figures stand as dark, silhouetted figures against the sky. The aspect of steepness is enhanced by flag-staffs with fluttering ensigns.

Massys would not have been satisfied with this composition. To him, massed figures were the proper content of pictorial form. He was not one to break apart his human walls, least of all in the middle, merely to open up a deep perspective. Yet the head of the Virgin is quite in Quentin's style. The child is virtually without a neck and looks out in astonishment from two great dark eyes. The male faces are doll-like, vapid and vacuous in expression. The deeply marked folds of the wide sleeves of the kings coincide with those on the arm of St. Catherine in the London triptych.

The Seminary of Belchite in Saragossa preserves a triptych (82, Plate 71) that attracted attention at the exhibition held in that city in 1908⁴. The centre panel shows another *Adoration*, similar in composition to the panel in the Johnson Collection, although not marked by quite the same vehemence. Here too the wave dips towards the middle and beats up the sides. There are dark heads and light in the

4. Pl. 23 in the publication on this show, by Bertaud.

entourage of the kings, in 'picturesque' alternation, and again there are the tall flag-staffs with their fluttering ensigns. Dark foliage is jaggedly silhouetted against a cloudy sky.

I have seen this triptych only in a collotype reproduction. If it is indeed a work by our master, it must be regarded as one painted at a rather late date. One must assume that it was created in a lower key at a time when his creative vigour had begun to wane.

I add here the Madonna in half-length in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg (88, Plate 75), which has been described as Quentin's work⁵, although I am not absolutely certain of the painter's identity. In composition it is indebted to the Brussels Madonna in half-length⁶, but it is not organized with the same rigid symmetry. The head of the Virgin harks back to the Morrison Triptych. The hair is divided into strands, and its dry and brittle texture, criss-crossed with highlights, represented with care. The four angels holding the curtain are dark-eyed, fair-haired and chubby-cheeked. They are pleasing in their gentle, well-behaved demeanour and resemble the angels in *The Garden of Eden* at London.

The quality of this master that is most deep-rooted and characteristic is, in my view, his management of lighting. Shadows and reflections mean more to him than three-dimensional form and he often uses them to gloss over the physical data. Dark areas stand silhouetted against a light ground—the hair of the Madonna against the light curtain, for example, or the angel on the right, with his wings and fluttering gown, against the sky. In his qualities of ethereal evanescence, playful fancy and gliding shadow this follower is set apart well enough from his preceptor. Yet bold as he is in composition and individual in his observation of light, the Master of the Morrison Triptych still lags behind his teacher in grasp of physical configuration and spiritual depth.

If the altarpiece in Valladolid (84, Plate 74), done in 1504 or a bit earlier, is indeed the work of Quentin Massys⁷, this of all is the one from which the Master of the Morrison Triptych must have taken his departure. There is, in particular, a resemblance in composition between the Valladolid *Adoration* and the one in the Johnson Collection. In the Philadelphia painting, the division of the figures into two groups seems curious and arbitrary, but in the Spanish altarpiece there is justification for it, for the painting, made up of two tall wings, is vertically bisected by a narrow strip. Here as there, the figures escalate up the sides and members of the train bear staffs with fluttering ensigns that jut up at an angle.

Without attempting an answer, I pose the question of whether the altar wings at Valladolid may not be the work of the Master of the Morrison Triptych.

If the Master of the Morrison Triptych was a student of Quentin Massys in the proper sense, if stylistic analysis justifies the assumption of a teacher-and-pupil relationship, it should be possible to elicit his name. In 1495, Massys registered a certain Ariaen as his first boy apprentice. The young man seems to have become an independent master in Antwerp in 1503⁸.

Following Massys so closely, and copying after Memling, this painter may have come to Antwerp from Holland. Such individuality as his style reveals points to an Eastern [101] origin. *The Garden of Eden* in the National Gallery was at one time claimed for Geertgen tot Sint Jans. While it is untenable, this attribution is an

5. By Scheibler.

6. Cf. pp. 18 f., above.

7. Cf. pp. 21 f., above.

8. He was then again listed simply as Ariaen. Another possibility, less likely, is that the Massys student became a master in 1499, under the name of Adriaen Skilleman who, in 1510, accepted two apprentices, Peerken Quintens and Joosken Quintens. Among Quentin's pupils mentioned in records, only Ariaen could have been the Master of the Morrison Triptych.

understandable and excusable error—to the extent that the casual and fortuitous arrangement, the powerful mood of the landscape and the sense of space, air and light have a ‘Dutch’ aspect.

Older editions of Burckhardt’s *Cicerone* mention as the only piece by Quentin Massys on Italian soil a *Mary Magdalene* in the possession of the Marchese Giovanni Battista Mansi at Lucca (89, Plate 76). In 1897, this panel went to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, where the attribution did not withstand rigid scrutiny. Its painter was recognized as a follower of the master, and as more and more paintings by the same hand began to accumulate, his personality emerged with growing clarity⁹.

The Master of the Mansi Magdalene owes his place in art history precisely to the demonstration that this painting is not by Quentin Massys. That demonstration could be made only by emphasizing its weaknesses and deficiencies, hence the painter bears the burden of denigrating comparison with one greater than he. Three peculiarities of the Mansi Magdalene obtrude themselves—its mathematically rigid frontal aspect, its murky monochromatic colouring and the curious relationship between figure and landscape. The face is seen precisely frontal, both ears visible like handles on a jug. The lid of the ointment jar in the Saint’s hand is a full circle, without any perspective. The heavy, lacklustre colour of the robe is all the more remarkable because painters were particularly fond of showing Mary Magdalene in colourful finery. The rocks in the background are excellently represented in their material texture, but the landscape as a whole partakes of the painstaking symmetry that marks the Saint’s face—which looks as though it had been drawn with compass and ruler. Two great boulders of equal prominence rest on her two shoulders, so to speak, making the head look as though it were fixed in a vice. The figure, brown-in-brown overall, does not stand out sharply against the brownish countryside.

Each of these peculiarities would suffice by itself to exclude Quentin’s authorship. When we compare this wide female face with that of the Mary Magdalene in his Antwerp altarpiece, who is also seen full-face, the utter vacancy that is such a fault in the Mansi Magdalene can scarcely be overlooked. I have no doubt, however, that this master based his work on a Mary Magdalene painted by Massys—if, indeed, he did not use the one in the Antwerp altarpiece as a model. His saint wears a head-covering similar in form and decoration to Quentin’s, and the sash too has been taken over. The curious recesses in the drapery of the generous right sleeve become understandable only when one compares them with models among Quentin’s works. The hand has long fingers with well-shaped oval nails.

We find virtually all these characteristics in *The Saviour* in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia (93, Plate 78), who stands in stiff frontal aspect before an over rich, detailed and lovingly elaborated landscape. The very wide head with its handlelike ears is symmetrically flanked by steep rocky cliffs that seem to press down on the shoulders. A grouping of three sheep in the right foreground is observed with a surprisingly keen and realistic eye. A portion of the landscape background, the mountain topped by a castle on the right side, is copied in reverse with curious precision from Dürer’s engraving of St. Eustace. The large hand Christ raises in blessing is noteworthy for the deep skin folds between the digits. The boneless fingers seem to consist of tied-off tubes.

9. Cf. my essay in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, 1915, p. 6.

The figure is set off in a strangely empty dignity from the woodland with its small elements, depicting nature after the explicit model of Dürer.

Dürer's engraving, *Adam and Eve*, was known to this master. The Brussels museum owns a painting by his hand (90, Plate 76) that is copied, without inversion, from this engraving, although the landscape ground has been simplified and the animals are omitted. He is recognizable by the cool, opaque flesh tints, Adam's large ear, the lacklustre eyes. The faces are in half rather than full profile, departing from the Dürer engraving. The man has a protruding, somewhat Negroid lower lip, the woman is translated into the Massys type.

In a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, which I saw in the possession of a Paris art dealer in 1913 (99, Plate 79), the painter harks back to Dürer's engraving, *The Virgin with a Monkey*, but with far greater freedom. The types are altogether altered. Among the characteristics that particularly obtrude themselves are the large ear of the infant Jesus, hard in shape, and the folds in the lowered eyelids of St. Anne, marked as lines.

An *Entombment* in the museum at Ghent (92, Plate 77) is borrowed from woodcut No. 44 in Dürer's Little Passion. It presents an irritating contrast between the copied but not entirely mastered lines and forms on the one hand, and the attempted overall chiaroscuro effect on the other. From wide areas that are over dark, portions of some figures, like the turban at the extreme right, shine forth glaringly.

A *Lamentation*, in the Virnich collection at Bonn (91, Plate 77), shows a Mary Magdalene agreeing with the Mansi Magdalene in type, dress and posture. The painter fails to capture the expression of grief, at least to the extent that the bald-headed man supporting the body of Jesus seems to wear an inappropriate smirk. There is a curious preliminary work for this head and that of St. John in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett¹⁰ (Plate 77). The sheet is in colour and looks like a study, a sketch of the heads of two grinning Jews.

Of the two half-length Madonnas by this master known to me, one is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (94, Plate 78), the other in the possession of a Berlin art dealer (95, Plate 78). A distinguishing mark of both is the sombre mood and powerful effect of the landscape background, divided up horizontally, in the manner of Patenier. The New York panel, particularly, surprises with its luminous expanse of water, silhouetted bridge and mountains, castles and ships in evening light. In both pictures, the figure is conceived and elaborated in Quentin's spirit, but rather awkwardly forced into relief form. In the Berlin panel, particularly, the shoulder becomes excessively wide and massive. The large ears are again noteworthy, and the linear folds in the eyelids. The New York panel also shows the strange quirk that has given us pause before, an ornamental mingling of landscape and figures. Craggy rocks project from behind the Virgin's head, seeming to form a coronet.

With small resources of inventiveness, the Master of the Mansi Magdalene seems ambitiously intent upon satisfying a demand for novelty in postures, having recourse to Dürer's graphic work and, on one occasion, even to an engraving by Marcantonio (96, Plate 78). In respect of form and expression of the human face, his taste remains under Quentin's spell. In his palette and in the mood of his landscapes, he branches out on his own, probably encouraged and stimulated by Pate-

10. Reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, loc. cit., III. No. 3.

nier. He moved away from Massys in the same direction as the Master of the Morrison Triptych. Patenier came to Antwerp in 1515, where he determined the character of landscape representation. The woodcut from Dürer's Little Passion the Master of the Mansi Magdalene could not have seen before 1511. Hence his active period seems to have lain between 1515 and 1525. There is a possibility that he is identical with Willem Muelenbroec, whom Massys registered as a boy apprentice in 1501.

A General Account of Painting in Antwerp in the Early 16th Century

It is hard to cling to the approach and form of presentation I have favoured hitherto. I have been able to keep to real persons, to the extent that stylistic analysis awakened them to life. Few figures have appeared as representatives of specific regions and periods. I have attached lesser masters to the great, according to their style. This went well enough in respect of the 15th century, resulting in something akin to history. But with the coming of the new age, confusion is confounded, entanglement grows closer. The pace quickens and a growing sense of restlessness blurs the outlines of individual personalities, impeding the arrangement of pictorial material by purely stylistic and analytical considerations.

The historian feels a duty to organize his material by schools and generations. He is intent upon singling out the leaders, placing the givers ahead of the takers, lest he lapse into confusing cause with effect. Such demands can be met but imperfectly in the face of the infinity of cross-currents, the to and fro of borrowings.

Pictorial ideas were common possession, freebooty, fair game. The attitude of painters towards intellectual property was downright communistic. Whoever goes by composition—which most art historians do, basing their judgments on reproductions—is likely to lose his way beyond hope. It is wrong to conclude that Master A must have been a disciple of Master B, because Master A has clearly borrowed a theme from Master B. Approach, style, the whole atmosphere must be noted, and these move within reach only when the paintings themselves are studied.

We seek to mark a neat distinction between, on the one hand, compositions that have been taken over and, on the other, an individual idiom. Yet when mediocre and inferior painters took over pictorial ideas and compositions, something of the form and feeling of the model was bound to go along, and the inevitable process of adaptation and watering down entailed confusing modifications in style. The trustworthiest characteristics left to us are brushwork, colour preferences and instinctive little quirks.

Geographical distinctions become almost totally illusory, because painters moved about with complete freedom. A glance at the register of the Antwerp painters' guild shows us that artists from every part of the Netherlands flocked to the Schelde port. Bruges, perhaps, offers the best chance to write local history. Yet even here, the four dominant masters—insofar as we can determine their provenance—were born elsewhere. Neither Jan van Eyck nor Hans Memling nor Gerard David nor Jan Provost were natives of the town. Yet the *genius loci* does have a certain persistence, creating local ties, allowing us to venture upon continuous narrative in the 16th century, as in the 15th, especially for Bruges, which has preserved a rather large number of paintings within its walls.

In Brussels and Mechlin, the demands of the court were a factor in the output of art. In respect of Brussels we gain a degree of clarity when we keep to Bernaert van Orley (11) who was born and continued to work there.

Before we come to our later chapters on Bruges and Brussels, it may be well if we

here interpose a discussion of the situation in Antwerp. That city became more and more the capital of the Netherlands. The historian expects new trends to have taken their origin there. Almost every master who distinguished himself in the broad region of the Netherlands between 1500 and 1530 turns up for at least a brief sojourn in Antwerp, contributing and accepting, doing his share towards the revolution in style that was proceeding apace. Antwerp was young and poor in tradition. Pictorial ideas and forms flooded in from many sides, as into a vacuum. We do well to recall the example of printing. The printers of Gouda and Delft moved to Antwerp about 1500, bringing their store of woodcuts with them.

Scarcely any paintings have been preserved *in situ* in the churches of Antwerp. On the other hand, we enjoy the advantage that the register of the painter's guild has been preserved intact¹ and published in exemplary fashion. This gives us the names, associated with places that tell us something about them, gives us the dates when the painters became full-fledged masters and set up independently in Antwerp and also provides information about apprenticeship, for the masters were in the habit of registering their new students with the guild. In the following I have compiled, for the critical period between 1490 and 1515, those names of which we have been able to gain a more or less clear and certain picture:

1491 Quentin Massys (*schilder*).

1493 Colyn van Bruesele (*schilder*). Cf. vol. 4, pp. 65 f.

Colyn seems to have left Antwerp soon. In any event, he registered no apprentices there.

1493 Jan Provoost (12).

This master, from Mons, went off to Bruges, where he is mentioned as a master during the same year. He visited Antwerp in 1520, together with Dürer.

1496 (?) Goswyn van der Weyden (13).

This grandson of Rogier became a citizen of Antwerp in 1498/99, but his name does not appear in the guild register. Perhaps he became a master in 1496 or 1500, years for which the names of new masters have not come down to us. He was born about 1465 and probably worked in Brussels before he settled in Antwerp. He has become a rather tangible personality, thanks largely to Hulin's astute researches². He trained a particularly large number of pupils.

1503 Jan van Leyen (14).

My guess is that he is identical with Jan de Cock of Leyden, who registered his first apprentice in 1506. If this association of names is correct, he is one of the founders of Mannerist art. Cf. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 36, 1915, p. 88.

1503 Jennyn van Hennegouwe (15).

This is none other than Jan Gossart, who stayed in Antwerp at least five years. In 1505 and 1507 he registered apprentices. His early appearance in Antwerp was of crucial importance.

1504 Jan de Beer (16).

A respected painter, mentioned by Guicciardini. He was apprenticed to Gillis van Everen in 1490. By the evidence of a signed drawing in the British Museum, he was one of the founders of the Mannerist trend.

1507 Jacob van Amsterdamme, *scildere* (17).

1. The names of the new 'Free Masters' are missing for the years 1496 and 1500.

2. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 60 ff.

Possibly identical with the well-known Dutch painter of that name. He lived in Antwerp at least until 1516, for in that year he still registered an apprentice.

1508 Ariaen van Overbeke 1181.

Documents attest to his authorship of an altarpiece in Kempen (in 1513). Of slight value, it is executed in the Mannerist style.

50 1511 Dierick Jacobssone (Felaert), *ghelaesmakere* (*glasschilder*) 1191.

This is Dieric Vellert, well known for his engravings and drawings and a few paintings.

1511 Joos van Cleeve, *scildere* 1201.

Formerly known as the Master of the Death of the Virgin, this famous painter remained active in Antwerp until his death in 1540.

1515 Joachim Patenier, *scildere* 1211.

The great landscape painter who was active in Antwerp until his death in 1524.

1513 Meester Ardt Ortkens, *glaesmalere*.

Mentioned by Guicciardini next to Dieric Vellert as an eminent painter on glass. I have tentatively identified him as also a prolific draughtsman. Cf. *Ämtliche Berichte der Berliner Museen*, vol. 38, No. 6.

1515 Meester Gheract van Brugghe, *scildere*.

Gerard David. Cf. Vol. 6 b, p. 13.

This list contains dates that are of great importance for the growth of art in Antwerp. Even the many names with which we can associate no paintings tell the historian something, provide statistical material. Painters kept arriving, bringing with them ideas from Brussels, Louvain, Mons, Amsterdam, Leyden, Maubeuge—an especially large number from Holland and Bruges. In Antwerp the Bruges tradition met the tradition of Holland head on, and new things arose from the swirling cross-currents. From the towns of Flanders came rules for devotional pictures, from the East 1221 wave upon wave of observation of nature. The Dutch contribution was a loosening of form, freer brushwork, a more open style.

Goswyn van der Weyden 1231, of about the same age as Massys and setting up in Antwerp not much later, remains a personality of many facets. Rather indeterminate in style to begin with, his presumably voluminous oeuvre is hard to identify because whatever style he did possess was further blurred by the collaboration of assistants. A work by his hand is the St. Dymphna altarpiece from the Abbey at Tongerlo, painted about 1505, i.e. during Goswyn's Antwerp period. Its seven panels, of equal size, were auctioned for the second time in Amsterdam by Muller on 4th June 1929 1241. Another panel, done a little later, is a devotional painting in memory of a personage long deceased³.

The master, judging from these pictures, had parted ways with the tradition of Rogier van der Weyden and exposed himself to all the winds that blew in Antwerp. In setting forth the legend of St. Dymphna—entirely on his own, in this case—he used obvious devices to enhance life and expression, especially gaping mouths and very large, gesturing hands. Quentin's proximity is felt in the women's youthful faces and the lines of the drapery. Flowers, grass and foliage spill over the bottom frame. The very figures are often cropped by the frame, in favour of casual realism. Foliage in the middle ground or buildings to the rear provide a soft or a firm backdrop. The whole narrative maintains interest in a light and casual vein.

3. In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 526. Cf., Hulin, *loc. cit.*

The Berlin panel, with a Madonna standing at the centre, relates to a bequest from the Estate of Calmphout to Tongerlo Abbey. The compositional element of the infant Jesus giving his blessing goes back to Rogier, whose willing disciple, the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine⁴, shows the child in the arms of his mother in a similar pose in his panel of St. Catherine⁵. The fabric hanging behind the Virgin shows the same pattern as a brocade in Master Quentin's St. Anne altarpiece. In anticipation that Hulin will conclude the inquiry he has launched with such success (251), I shall here forego any effort to identify other works by Goswyn. I shall revert to this master, moreover, when I come to deal with the Antwerp Mannerists. He must not be omitted at this point, however, for our object is to give as full a description as possible of the life of painting in Antwerp early in the 16th century.

As Goswyn worked for Tongerlo from the vantage-point of Antwerp, so did an unnamed master at the same time for the Church of St. Catherine at Hoogstraeten, from which seven panels came to the Antwerp museum with the Ertborn collection (103, Plates 81-83). Two narrow panels, a *Presentation in the Temple* and a *Jesus among the Doctors*, are arbitrarily joined with a *Christ Carrying the Cross* that is twice as wide, to form a triptych (261). There is also an *Entombment*, as large as the last painting, and a *Crucifixion* that has the same width but is not quite as high, and finally a *Virgin of Sorrows* and a portrait of the woman donor with a female saint, the latter two much taller than the other parts. All agree perfectly in style, and beyond doubt the altarpiece they comprised was dedicated to the Seven Sorrows of Mary. The Flight into Egypt is missing, as is a Lamentation, unless the *Virgin of Sorrows* is regarded as one of the Seven Sorrows. Yet by the iconographical convention of the time, the Mater dolorosa was usually surrounded by the Seven Sorrows.

For altogether obscure reasons, the panels were originally attributed in the Ertborn collection to a legendary 'Van der Meire.' Then, some years ago, an erroneous documentary citation led to an attribution to the Antwerp woodcarver Jan van der Heye. This entry does mention a St. Catherine altarpiece van der Heye executed for the church at Hoogstraeten in 1538. But the very date clashes with the stylistic impression and invalidates the attribution. In a painstaking investigation, the archivists L. Philippen and J. Ernalsteen have shown that the panels cannot have been part of the St. Catherine altarpiece of 1538, but belong rather to an altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary that is also mentioned in documents⁶. They demonstrate, further, from the arms, that the donor was Oda (Ottilie) van der Beke, and that the saint behind her, with a magpie on a sword-hilt, is St. Odilia and not St. Catherine. The donatrix was married in 1497, her husband dying in 1517, and she was still alive in 1533. Ernalsteen, therefore, dates the altarpiece between 1517 and 1533, on the premise that Oda gave the altarpiece only when she was a widow, since there seems to be no portrait of a male donor. To a critic of style, this dating is quite dubious, for it overlooks the fact that we do not possess all parts of the altarpiece. The panel showing the male donor may very well have been lost. I myself think this is the case and date the piece by style—about 1505. The researches of the two archivists concerning Oda van der Beke's family affairs show with a degree of likelihood bordering on certainty that her commission went to an Antwerp painter, that the Master of Hoogstraeten worked in the Schelde port.

4. Possibly Peeter, Goswin's father. Cf. Vol. 4, p. 108.

5. Cf. Vol. 4, No. 47, Pl. 50.

6. *Rond het Hoogstraatsch Altaarstuk*, L. Braeckmans, Brecht, 1928.

The figures of this master are on the small side and not too firm on their feet. His efforts to achieve vigour in expression meet with little success. His pale women, small of eye and lifeless of gaze, seem unreal and almost diaphanous. The hands have long palms and flabby fingers. His men in half-face have their noses too far to profile—they stick out awry and leave an effect of petty cunning. The infant Jesus is abnormally small. There is a full-cheeked aspect to the women that ill accords with the ideal of delicacy evidently aspired to. Sometimes the faces seem almost swollen. The drapery is heavy and, although seen in three dimensions, sparsely organized, sometimes in continuous curves, but with little spread. The formal idiom is spare and tentative. The brushwork is clean, with a pleasing, uniform and rather glassy, enamel-like surface. Essentially a 'small master' in character, this painter achieves overall an impression of tidy and somewhat meagre prettiness, with mildly shining colour-work. His landscapes are natural in construction, the horizon on the low side. They are of Northern aspect, with green thickets and castles in the Romanesque style. Clearings, simple and sturdy houses, hills that fall away gently—all these serve to build up a homelike and familiar sense of locale. There is none of Patenier's complex and sweeping geography, no steep declivities as found in Joos van Cleve, no provocative light contrasts as in the Master of the Morrison Triptych. Instead, we have a comfortable and inviting warmth and closeness, not unlike Goswyn van der Weyden. Such is the Master of Hoogstraeten.

He puts his best foot forward—this modest master, self-assured within the limits of his skill—in a little devotional picture in the Benda collection, Vienna (118, Plate 88). The Virgin is shown enthroned, with Sts. Catherine and Barbara, all in full-length. In terms of architecture, the master offers the barest minimum, no more than is absolutely necessary. The full-cheeked women with their pointed chins and flaccid hands are pervaded by a youthful and airy serenity.

There are several copies after this panel, done in an altogether different spirit, that is to say with embellishments and pointed-up types, such as were introduced by the so-called Mannerists. In at least one instance we see the master of Hoogstraeten himself infected with the vogue for playful and fluttering unquiet, although by training and character he was a stranger to the Mannerist movement that began about 1505. The Mayer van den Bergh museum in Antwerp owns an impressive triptych by his hand with an *Adoration* (104, Plate 84), in which the oversize Negro king on the right shutter sports a long, dangling ribbon that flutters about for no discernible reason, quite out of keeping with this master's wonted economy and realism. Similar in composition to the Benda panel, but larger and more pretentious, is a Madonna with Sts. Catherine and Barbara in the Uffizi in Florence (119, Plate 89). Several of its aspects—the landscape, St. Barbara's left hand, St. Catherine's head, the jewel-trimmed hem at the Virgin's throat—testify to the master's authorship. This trimming of jewels recurs in a small Madonna in the Brussels museum (117, Plate 88).

In Northwick Park there is an *Adoration* (111, Plate 86) wider than it is high that is irritating in its mixture of styles. In composition and several of the heads, notably the Virgin and the elder kings, it is altogether in the style of Gerard David, and it was so published by the Arundel Club⁷, an error that may be readily forgiven. But landscape, drapery, character of the royal train and brushwork unmistakably bear

7. 1913, No. 9.

the mark of the Master of Hoogstraeten. The crookedly set noses of some of the subsidiary figures, in particular, reveal his hand and tip the balance. The most plausible explanation is that the Master of Hoogstraeten must have copied this painting after Gerard David.

The Master of Hoogstraeten may have been one of that large number of painters from Bruges who, as the guild register shows, left the sinking ship about 1495 to settle in Antwerp.

The Master of Frankfurt

Insofar as stylistic analysis can tell us about a painter's origins, the Master of Frankfurt was not trained in the same school as those painters whom I have so far discussed as typical representatives of the art of Antwerp. Yet the name by which he is known is misleading, for he has nothing to do with the city on the River Main but for having done two altarpiece in Frankfurt, or at least for Frankfurt. He was a Netherlander, resident in Antwerp. A study of the Frankfurt works leads us to rather early dates. The great St. Anne altar, the panels from which are now in the city museum (129, Plate 100-101) was consecrated in 1492¹.

True, this merely establishes that the triptych cannot have been painted after that date. The *Crucifixion* in the Städelches Kunstinstitut (128, Plate 98-99) was given by Klaus Humbracht, a patrician born in 1440, who is shown on it with three sons and daughters, all grown. This donor died in 1504. The pictures on the outsides of the shutters, a corpse and banderoles, may indicate that the children established the altar in memory of their parents. The youngest son, John, who appears in clerical garb, was indeed admitted to the chapter of the College of Our Lady, but only in 1504. This, then, is the probable date of the work².

In the year 1503, Jacob, son of Klaus Humbracht, established his household in Antwerp. The commission may have gone to an Antwerp painter through him. But since the master probably painted the likeness of the donor's family in Frankfurt, it is likely that he spent some time there. Or perhaps the unusually large St. Anne altarpiece, painted for the Dominican monastery at about the same time as the Humbracht triptych, to judge from the style, had drawn him to Frankfurt. The remarkable conclusion would be that the St. Anne altarpiece of this master was done a few years before Quentin's Louvain altarpiece.

The Master of Frankfurt was older than Massys. Although we do not know his name, we get some biographical details from a double portrait, in which he painted himself beside his wife. This portrait, a monument of some significance to the history of art in Antwerp, was sold by a private collector in England to the von Auspitz collection in Vienna (163, Plate 117). A convoluted ornamentation at the top shows the arms of the Antwerp painters' guild, with three light-coloured shields, borne up by the winged bull of St. Luke, together with an inscription, *in Jonsten versamt* (united in friendship) 1271. On the original frame below appear the figures 36—1496—17. Clearly, this is an Antwerp master, born in 1460, with his 17 year old spouse, shown presumably right after their wedding, comfortably enjoying his new domestic bliss at the dinner-table. The master looks youthful and lean, with a plump and slightly retroussé nose, brown hair falling into his brow, thick eyebrows over closely spaced eyes and a vertical furrow bisecting his forehead.

In the St. Anne altarpiece we encounter a second self-portrait. A figure on the right of the centrepiece is conspicuous both by its isolated position within the composition and the direction of its gaze. Assuming a lapse of about ten years, it agrees quite well with the portrait in Vienna. This would give us a date of 1506, in

1. Weizsäcker, *Die Kunstschätze des Dominikanerklosters in Frankfurt*, p. 127.

2. Cf. Weizsäcker, in the catalogue of the Städelches Kunstinstitut.

keeping with the time at which the St. Anne altarpiece was painted.

The Antwerp museum has a quaint painting of an archery fair (164, Plates 118-119) which has scarcely been tapped as a source of social history. Its costumes, arms and emblems provide superabundant indications of time and place³. Here again a portrait of the Master of Frankfurt turns up. Looking even younger than in the Vienna portrait of 1496, he appears in company of a woman in idealized dress who does not at all resemble his wife—at least not the one who was 17 years old in 1496. According to tradition, there was the following inscription:

Dit taferaal gaf Peter de Gammerele.

Hier ter deser stede.

Godt verleent sijn sele.

Den eenwighe vrede MCCCCXCIII 1281.

This would mean that the donor of the panel died in 1493, and that it must have been painted before then. Yet judging from dress and style, it cannot have been painted very much earlier. What we have in this rather turbulent archers' fair is a youthful work by the master who, in his maturity, created the St. Anne altarpiece. His œuvre is voluminous and has much grown, since I first ventured to catalogue it⁴.

As an example I shall pick the picture from the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz (152, Plate 112), now owned by a Berlin art dealer. The master used this composition repeatedly, with various changes, and it was also employed by other painters. The Virgin is seated out of doors, pressing the child to her breast with both hands. St. Catherine is on her knees in the left foreground, leaning back stiffly with the upper part of her body and holding up a ring in her right hand. Between her and the Virgin is St. James the Pilgrim. On the right, the donor kneels behind a bench on which he has placed his prayer book. His patron, St. Peter, stands on that side. A half-shorn poodle obediently attends its master, the donor. This donor with dog is absent in all of the replicas. Commonly another female saint occupies this place. The dog, however, is highly individualized and realistic, indeed, the best part of the whole panel, which makes me feel certain that this particular panel represents a work by the master's very own hand.

The ground is thickly strewn with a variety of plants and flowers—dense and sprouting weeds. The tendency to fill up spaces bespeaks a feeling for the fertility of the soil, for the rich, coarse, picturesque forms of wild vegetation, as well as a dislike of emptiness. Everything that grows in this picture, plants and hair, leads a vigorous life of its own. Branches cross, hair is crinkled and matted, spraying brittly from heads. St. James is open-mouthed and has a deep furrow above the nose. All of the heads are large and dark-haired. The men wrinkle their brows and display an air of annoyance. Their complexion is blotchy and pasty and their faces tend to be shapeless. The eye on the averted side squints outward. The women's dresses are of heavy material that falls away in wide and wavy curves. The brocade is sparsely strewn with widely spaced flowers. The fingers are rather long, at the expense of the palms. The pigments are deep and harmonious, but they are applied in a manner quite different from that of all the other painters then working in Antwerp—clumsily, heavily, hastily, with a turbid and treacly quality. Within this spiritual strait-jacket, solemn gravity turns to niggling ill humour and undissembling gruffness.

Most of the qualities we note here recur in all of the works of the master. Facial

3. Cf. data in the catalogue of the Antwerp museum.

4. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 38, 1917, pp. 142 ff.

expression, in particular, is determined as a rule by an element of tension that seems to emanate from the root of the nose. There is a contraction there, more or less clearly marked, occasionally taking the form of a vertical furrow, more usually only a slight wrinkling of the skin, that displays an emotional spectrum ranging from prying alertness to ingrained ill temper.

One figure in the master's *chef-d'œuvre* from his middle period, the St. Anne altarpiece in Frankfurt, is borrowed from a painting by the so-called Master of Flémalle, in the Dijon museum. The *Death of the Virgin* on the right shutter of the triptych harks back to van der Goes. The master knew the figures of Adam and Eve in Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece and copied them on one occasion (133). The Monforte painting by van der Goes impressed itself deeply upon him as a model (123, Plate 91; 124, Plate 92). These echoes point to his origins. Perhaps he came to Antwerp from Ghent.

The many heads of female saints on the outsides of the shutters in the St. Anne altarpiece exemplify his ideal of beauty for us. The hairline is high, the face wholesome, vigorously rounded, of even lineaments. The rather coarse technique, adapted to filling large areas, gives a loose kind of animation to the faces and sets them far apart from the glassily smooth and precisely contoured heads of Master Quentin.

Apart from the naïve and awkward archery fair, painted soon after 1490, I regard the *Virgin with Two Angels* in the museum at Ghent (151, Plate 112) as a youthful work by the Master of Frankfurt. The composition is astonishingly archaic and decoratively two-dimensional, the robes flung out far in a single layer, beneath which the bodies are scarcely in evidence.

There is also an *Adoration* (125, Plate 93), preserved in several versions, arranged across the triptych in such a way that the two younger kings are on the shutters, while the Holy Family with the eldest king appears in the centre. It pleased the master to give one king the features of the Emperor Frederic and another, on at least one occasion, those of Maximilian. The frame cuts into the figures.

Painted at a rather late date—I should think about 1510—are two impressive altar shutters, each with a female saint, in the von Pannwitz collection at De Hartekamp near Haarlem (137, Plate 107). The figures are copied—oddly enough, not from some venerable original from the past, but from a work painted only in 1505. The master here follows in the footsteps of a contemporary, indeed, a painter much younger than himself and a member of an altogether different art circle. What he was doing was to pay hostages to current fashion. The sashes fluttering in the air for no discernible reason give the game away. These figures are copied from a small altarpiece in Lisbon which shows the Holy Family on the centre panel. It is an excellent work in the Mannerist style, and I regard it as having been done by Jan Gossart (291).

Apparently this cheerless and perverse master was not often troubled with portrait commissions. All the same—ignoring the portraits of donors for the moment—I think I have recognized several portraits by his hand. His authorship is demonstrated most convincingly in a tondo in the collection of Prince Lichnowsky, a *Portrait of Man* (162, Plate 116), seen full face, possibly cut down from a larger piece. The black beret is picturesquely cocked, the mouth slightly open, the gaze a bit askint, the complexion doughy, with darkish shadows—and there is that muscular tension

between the closely spaced eyes. An unkempt fringe of hair droops into the forehead.

There is a deep gulf between Quentin Massys and the Master of Frankfurt, who worked in Antwerp at the same time, say between 1490 and 1515. This painter was still caught in the inarticulate depths of craftsmanship, virtually untouched by the upswing of intellectual humanism that affected his society. He ran a busy workshop, much of its output intended for export, on commission from patrons without very high standards. Beside Quentin's transfigured creatures his people are down to earth, unredeemed and fleshly. In invention and approach he does not point to the future, yet there is a sense of anticipation in his predilection for intricate, organic richness and in his brushwork, which aspires towards uncompromising freedom and sweeping grandeur.

A small circle (o) indicates additional material from Friedländer's Volume XIV, or, when stated explicitly, from another publication by this author. A small black dot (●), material added by the editors.

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF QUENTIN MASSYS,
ARRANGED BY SUBJECT. ALTARPIECES WITH SHUTTERS,
WORKS CONSISTING OF SEVERAL PARTS, AND PAIRS OF
ALTARPIECE SHUTTERS ARE GIVEN FIRST, FOLLOWED
BY INDIVIDUAL DEVOTIONAL PANELS, PORTRAITS AND
LASTLY GENRE PICTURES

1. (Plates 1-3) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*: left, *Salome Presenting the Head of the Baptist to Herod*; right, *The Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist*; verso, in grisaille, the two St. Johns. Antwerp museum, Nos. 245-249 (arched termination at the top, 260 × 270—117). Commissioned in 1508 for the chapel of the joiners' guild in Antwerp Cathedral. Completed before 26th August 1511, on which day the payment was converted into a trust fund for two of the master's children. See p. 16, above. • 260 × 273—120 cm.

a. Rahlves collection, Peine (122 × 87). A copy of the central panel in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 2) Figdor collection, Vienna. Heads of two women from the central panel. On paper. See Frimmel, *Kleine Galeriestudien*, new series, issue No. 4, 1896, pp. 14 ff., where the heads are judged to be studies by the master. o Auctioned on 20th September 1920, at Cassirer, Berlin, Nos. 42-43; paper on panel, 36.5 × 26.5 cm. Originally only the heads were painted (No. 42: 26.5 cm × 20 cm; No. 43: 20 × 15.3 cm); the additions by the same hand 1301.

2. (Plates 4-7) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Kindred*: left, the Annunciation to Joachim; right, the death of St. Anne; verso, left, Anne and Joachim distribute their property among the poor; right, rejection of Joachim's sacrifice. Brussels museum, No. 299 (arched termination at the top, 224.5 × 219—219.5 × 91.5). Inscribed on the verso of the left shutter: *Quinte Metsys screef dit 1509*. Acquired in 1879 from the church of St. Peter in Louvain. Commissioned in 1507 for that church's chapel of the congregation of St. Anne. Sharply overcleaned, but otherwise in a rather good state of preservation. See p. 15, above.

3. (Plate 8) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Trinity with the Virgin*: left, *St. Sebastian*; right, *St. Roch*; verso, left, *St. Luke the Evangelist*; right, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 141-143 (originally terminating in an arch at the top, 90 × 61—28). According to an armorial bearing uncovered some years ago a donation by Lucas Rehm (Rem) of Augsburg and his wife, who were married in 1518. See *Münchener Jahrbuch*, Vol. 9, 1914-15, pp. 151 ff. The versos and possibly St. Roche were done with the help of students. See p. 26, above. • 90 × 78—39 cm.

4. *Three Panels from an Altarpiece from Portugal.*

A. (Plate 10) *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1928—81 × 78). ○ Acquired by the Worcester Museum. ● Worcester Art Museum, Worcester (Mass.); Acc. No. 1937.4; 82.6 × 79 cm.

B. (Plate 10) *The Presentation in the Temple*. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery—81 × 78). ● Now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; Inv. No. 1830; 82.5 × 79.5 cm.

C. (Plate 11) *St. John and the Women at the Tomb of Christ*. Berlin art market (L. Blumenreich, 1929—81 × 78). ● Now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; Inv. No. 1829; 82.5 × 79 cm.

The three panels all derive from a single altarpiece, some other parts of which are said to have been recently installed in the Lisbon museum. See p. 29 above.
○ To the three panels known to me from the London art market (sic) must be added a fourth in the Lisbon museum, *Jesus among the Doctors* (Plate 10). ● Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; Inv. No. 1692; 62.5 × 80.5 cm.

Apparently they are all from an altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, with a large *Mater Dolorosa* in the centre (of which I have seen a photograph) (Plate 9). ● In the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; Inv. No. 1275; 171.5 × 151 cm.

C. Justi (Misc. Vol. 2, p. 110) says these panels come from the convent of Madre de Dios, which was founded by Eleanor, wife of John II (1311).

5. (Plate 12) *Diptych, Christ the Saviour; The Virgin at Prayer*, both at bust-length. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), Nos. 241, 242 (38 × 28.5 each). Acquired in 1828 in Antwerp. ● 39 × 29 cm.

a. (Plate 12) National Gallery, London, No. 295 (arched at the top, 54 × 33 each). A good workshop copy. From the collection of King William of the Netherlands. Nos. 23 and 24 in the auction of 1850. ● 58.5 × 33 cm.

b. (Plate 12) Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (Clemens collection), rounded at the top. A good free replica of the Virgin. ● Inv. No. A 1069; 54.5 × 36.3 cm.

c. (Plate 13) London art market, 1909 (34 × 25). A good free replica of the Virgin. ● Present location unknown.

6. (Plate 13) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Evangelist; St. Agnes*. Cologne museum, on loan from the Carstanjen collection (47 × 13 each). No. 371 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. The shutters belonged with a central Madonna, now lost. The whole altarpiece was once in the Bettendorf collection, Aachen, there ascribed to Jan van Eyck. See *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 1928, p. 54. On the versos of the shutters is a mediocre painting in the style of Barthel Bruyn. ● Now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum Cologne; Inv. No. 852; 48 × 13.5 cm.

7. (Plate 14) *A Pair of Shutters with Two Holy Female Penitents, kneeling nude: The Magdalene, The Egyptian Mary*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, Nos. 366, 367, 29.5 × 20 each). No. 165 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. No. 92 in the Count Nesselrode auction, Amsterdam, 1909.

8. (Plate 15) *Adoration of the Magi*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 38-1 (101 × 79). From the collections of R. H. Hughes of Kinmel and R. Kann of Paris. Questionably dated 1526 (the figure 26 appears in a pillar ornament), but this date is confirmed by stylistic comparison.

9. (Plate 14) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Castagnola near Lugano (88 × 67). No. 160 in the Weber auction, Brussels, 1926. • Present location unknown (321).

10. (Plate 16) *Christ Shown to the People*. In private ownership in Madrid (160 × 120). See p. 28, above. • Now in the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid; Cat. No. 2801.

11. (Plate 17) *Christ Shown to the People*. Palace of the Doges, Venice. See p. 28, above. • 95 × 74 cm.

12. (Plate 18) *The Crucifixion*. Gallery of Prince of Liechtenstein, Vienna (rounded at the top, 49 × 36). No. 198 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. The landscape appears to have been painted by Patenier. • Now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; Inv. No. 6190; 51 × 36.5 cm.

a. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 149 (95 × 70). A mediocre copy.

13. (Plate 19) *The Crucifixion*. National Gallery, London, No. 715 (arched at the top, 90 × 57). From the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection. The figures are partly overpainted. The landscape may be by Patenier. See p. 28, above. • 90 × 58.5 cm.

14. (Plate 21) *The Lamentation*. Paris art market (Perdoux, 1927, 145 × 127). See p. 30, above. • Now on the London art market (Matthiesen). • Now in a private collection, Holland; 152.4 × 157 cm. (331).

15. (Plate 20) *Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 134 (123 × 103). In the older inventories this picture is given to Massys, but lately it has been ascribed to Willem Key. The figure group does indeed display Key's forms and technique, but the landscape is in Quentin's style. What probably happened is that Willem Key partly went over and completed an unfinished work by Quentin. See *Pantheon*, 1929, pp. 254 ff. This composition occurs widely, especially in Spain, and always shows its derivation from Massys. An uncommonly fine specimen, entirely in the style of Massys—especially in the Virgin's hands—was recently acquired at the 1926 auction for the Brussels museum (Plate 20) from the possession of Princess Charles d'Arenberg. • 112 × 103 cm (the Munich picture). See also Vol. XIII, No. 267; 44 × 31.5 cm (the picture at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; Inv. No. 4705).

16. (Plate 21) *Pietà*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2203 (36 × 50). Acquired in 1893.

17. (Plate 22) *Virgin Enthroned, at Full-Length*. Brussels museum, No. 540 (130 × 86). Acquired in 1862 at the auction of the J. P. Weyer collection, Cologne. No. 21

in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Hulin has identified the arms of the town of Louvain in the stained-glass. An early work. See p. 18, above.

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18. (Plate 23) *Virgin Enthroned*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 561 (135 × 90). Acquired in 1823. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. (Plate 23) Private ownership, Vienna (85 × 74.5). A good old copy, segment, at half-length. • Now in the Brussels museum. • Inv. No. 5052; 84.5 × 74.5 cm.

b. (Plate 23) Church of St. James, Antwerp. An old copy, at knee-length, against a neutral ground. • 65 × 53 cm 1341.

19. (Plate 24) *Virgin and Child*. Museum, Poznan (Raczynski collection, 110 × 87). After Leonardo. The landscape by Patenier. See p. 25, above. • Inv. No. MO 114.

20. (Plate 25) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Brussels museum, No. 643 (62 × 50). An early work. See p. 18, above.

a. (Plate 25) Renders collection, Bruges (rounded at the top, 44 × 30.5). A replica from which further details in the Brussels specimen may be filled in. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels; Inv. No. 6647; 47.5 × 35.5 cm (with the original frame, which is part of the panel).

21. (Plate 25) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Aynard auction, Paris, 1913 (24 × 19), present whereabouts unknown.

22. (Plate 27) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. No. 12 in the Warneck auction, Paris, 1926 (54 × 44), present whereabouts unknown.

23. (Plate 26) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Institute of Arts, Detroit (J. E. Scripps collection). • Acc. No. 89.60; 55.2 × 39.7 cm.

a. (Plate 27) Collection of Fritz Kaul, Dresden (47 × 37). A good replica, with the landscape, from the Beckerath collection. • Now in the Heinz Kisters Collection Kreuzlingen, Switzerland; 51 × 37.5 cm.

b. London art market (Arnot Gallery, 1929, 57.5 × 40). An old copy, without the landscape. • Present location unknown.

c. (Plate 27) Budapest museum (Pálffy collection, No. 74, 56 × 36). Very much like b. • Cat. No. 4313; 56.5 × 35.8 cm.

I have not seen the picture in Detroit. Judging from reproductions, it seems to be better than the Beckerath specimen and probably the original.

24. (Plate 28) *Virgin and Child, at Half-Length*. Louvre, Paris, No. 20 (rounded at the top, 68 × 51). Inscribed *Qu.M.1529*. Acquired in 1902 from the Rattier collection. See p. 27, above.

a. Private ownership, Paris (83 × 64.5). A rather close copy, squared off at the top and enlarged on all sides. • Present location unknown.

25. (Plate 29) *Virgin Enthroned, with Angels*. Collection of C. W. Dyson-Perrins,

London (61 × 42.5). From the Sneyd collection, auctioned at Christie's, London, June 1924. Exhibited at the Royal Academy of Art, London, 1927, No. 171. An early work. See p. 19, above. • Now in the National Gallery, London; No. 6282; 62 × 43 cm.

26. (Plate 30) *Virgin Enthroned, with Two Angels*. Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp near Haarlem (85 × 55). Exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1927, No. 169. • 83.8 × 53.3 cm. The picture had been exhibited for some time with the Pannwitz collection at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and was later sold with that collection to the United States. Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 30) Lisbon museum. A free replica of approximately equal merit, lacking the angel on the right. • Cat. No. 222 (1956); 89 × 59.5 cm.

27. (Plates 31-32) *Virgin, Standing, with Angels*. Lyons museum (54 × 38). No. 170 at the Academy exhibition, London, 1927. • A precise replica apparently by the master's hand, with differing coloration, is in the collection of Count Seilern, Vienna (Suppl. No. 165). A free repetition, showing the Virgin alone outdoors, has turned up from private ownership in France. It is likewise by the master's hand (48 × 33) (Suppl. No. 166). • Triptych, the shutters painted in black, Inv. A. 2908; 54.5 × 37.5 cm (1351).

a. Collection of the Duke of Newcastle, Clumber Park (45 × 31). A close replica. Praised as a work of Jan Mostaert by Waagen, *Galleries in Great Britain*, p. 509.

28. (Plate 34) *The Betrothal of St. Catherine*. National Gallery, London (97 × 110, water colour on canvas). From the Linnell collection. See p. 31, above. • Cat. No. 3664; 93 × 110 cm.

a. Paris art market, 1926 (43 × 50). A rather crude old copy. • Present location unknown.

29. (Plate 34) *Jesus and John as Boys, Kissing*. Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth. See G. Glück, *Pantheon*, 1928, pp. 502 ff. (ill.). After Leonardo. The same composition that was used repeatedly in the studio of Joos van Cleve. See p. 33, above. • 34 × 45.5 cm. Cf. Vol. IX, No. 37.

30. (Plate 36) *Head of St. Anthony* (?). Cambó collection, Barcelona. • Now in the Palacio de la Virreina, Barcelona, Legado Cambó, Inv. No. 64.998; 37.2 × 31.2 cm.

31. (Plate 35) *The Temptation of St. Anthony*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1615 (155 × 173). From the Escorial. According to an old inventory note, confirmed by stylistic analysis, a joint work by Massys and Patenier. See p. 25, above.

32. (Plate 37) *St. Christopher*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 29 (80 × 74). An early work. See p. 20, above. • 106 × 72 cm.

33. (Plate 36) *St. Jerome, at Half-Length*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia,

Catalogue II, No. 368 (67.5 × 69). Possibly a fragment of a larger work. • 70.8 × 68 cm.

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34. (Plate 38) *The Grieving Magdalene*, at bust-length, fragment from a *Lamentation*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 574c (33 × 24). From the collection of the Rev. Heath, Enfield. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

35. (Plate 39) *The Magdalene*, at half-length. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection). No. 243 (45 × 30). Acquired in 1836 in Antwerp. According to the Antwerp catalogue, there is a replica, not known to me, in the collection of Baron Edouard de Rothschild, Paris. See p. 32, above. • 45 × 29 cm, rounded at the top.

36. (Plate 40) *Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus*. Palazzo Corsini, Rome, from the Stroganoff collection (58 × 45, transferred from wood to canvas). One side of a double portrait, the other being of Peter Gillis. Dating from 1517. See p. 23, above. • Now Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

a. (Plate 42) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1530 (39 × 27). Acquired in 1803. An old copy.

b. Hampton Court. An old copy.

c. (Plate 42) Paris art market (43 × 31.5). A mediocre copy, greatly overcleaned. • Now in the Alfred A. Azzoni collection, Huntington Bay, New York.

On portraits of Erasmus, see Haarhaus, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, 1898, pp. 42 ff.

37. (Plate 41) *Portrait of Peter Gillis (Petrus Ægidius)*. Collection of Lord Radnor, Longford Castle (73.75 × 55.25, pieced out below, above and on the left). Dates from 1517, see p. 23, above. The reproduction shows the picture without the additions.

a. (Plate 42) Antwerp museum, No. 198 (60 × 47). A replica. • 59 × 46 cm.

b. (Plate 42) Sedelmeyer, Paris, auction of 1907, No. 219 (57 × 41). A good replica. • Present location unknown.

38. (Plate 43) *Portrait of a Man*. Reinhart collection, Winterthur (46 × 33). Dated 1509. See p. 22, above. • The full inscription on the sheet of paper in the subject's hands reads: ETAS MEA 51 DUM SCRIBERETUR 1.5.0.9. FUI IN TERRA SANCTA.

39. (Plate 44) *Portrait of a Canon*. Gallery of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna, No. 928 (73 × 60). From the Secrétan collection, Paris, No. 190 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. For no discernible reason described as a portrait of Bishop Gardiner of Winchester. • Now in the Liechtenstein collection, Vaduz; 74 × 60 cm.

40. (Plate 45) *Portrait of a Man*. Hahn collection, Berlin (50 × 34). • Present location unknown.

41. (Plate 45) *Portrait of a Man*, right hand holding a flower, left hand at his sword

hilt. Friedsam collection, New York (40×29, rounded at the top). Formerly in the collection of Lord Harrington, England. ● Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; No. 32.100.49; 45.8×34.6 cm.

42. (Plate 45) *Portrait of a Knight*. Collection of Lord Amherst, Montreal, Sevenoaks. Reproduced in Arundel Club publication No. 7, 1909. ● Present location unknown.

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43. (Plate 45) *Portrait of an Elderly Man*, face turned half-right, hands not showing, on a neutral ground. Semmel collection, Berlin-Grunewald (47×35). ● Sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, 14th March 1951; 49×36 cm (35a1).

44. (Plate 45) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, hands not showing, on neutral ground (tondo, diameter ca. 40). London art market (Sabin, 1927). ● This painting was in the Oppenheimer collection, New York, in 1940. Present location unknown.

45. (Plate 46) *Portrait of a Man*. Spencer Churchill Collection, Northwick Park (76×50). Reproduced in Arundel Club publication No. 11, 1914. ● Now in the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh; Inv. No. 2273; 80×64.5 cm.

46. (Plate 47) *Portrait of a Man*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 113 (69×53). Acquired in 1829. A late work, see p. 35, above. Formerly in the van der Geest collection, Antwerp (1628), see the painting of an art collection by van Haecht, reproduced in Arundel Club publication No. 20, 1907 (Plate 135).

47. (Plate 48) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a flower in his raised right hand. Art Institute, Chicago. From the Beurnonville and May collections, Paris. ● 43.9×29.2 cm.

48. (Plate 49) *Portrait of a Woman* holding a prayer book, bust-length. Friedsam collection, New York (49×42.5). See p. 35, above. ● Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; No. 32.100.47; 48.3×43.2 cm. For the pendant see Suppl. No. 169.

49, 50. (Plate 50) *Portraits of a Man and a Woman*. Oldenburg museum (33×28 each). Possibly donor portraits from an altarpiece.

51. (Plate 53) *Portrait of a Cleanshaven Old Man*, in profile, bust-length. Jacquemart-André museum, Paris (48×37, on paper). Inscribed: *Quintinus Metsys pingebat anno 1513*. From the collection of Count Oultremont, No. 351 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. Free after a Leonardo drawing, apparently the same one that served as a model for the next entry. See p. 24, above. ● Paper mounted on canvas (originally stretched on panel).

52. (Plate 52) *Portrait of an Ugly Woman*, bust-length. Collection of Hugh Blaker, London. After a Leonardo drawing. See p. 33, above. ● Now in the National

Gallery, London; Cat. No. 5796; 64 × 45.5 cm (without an addition at the left and below, which was removed when the picture entered the Museum 1361).

53. (Plate 51) *The Banker and his Wife*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2029 (74 × 68). Inscribed: *Quinten Matsys Schilder 1514*. Acquired in 1806. Formerly in Antwerp, in the collections of Diego Duarte (1682) and Pieter Stevens. • 71 × 68 cm.

54. (Plate 54) *The Ill-Matched Lovers*. Collection of Countess Pourtalès, Paris (42 × 62). No. 359 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. See p. 33, above. • Present location unknown.

55. (Plate 54) *The Laughing Man*, bust-length. London art market (Agnew, 1928). • In 1930, on the art market (P. de Boer), Amsterdam; 46.5 × 35 cm (1371).

CATALOGUE B : PAINTINGS OF WHICH MASSYS'S AUTHORSHIP IS IN DOUBT, COPIES AND WORKSHOP PRODUCTS

56. (Plate 55) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*: left, the donor with St. Jerome; right, the donatrix with the Egyptian Mary. Mayer van den Bergh museum, Antwerp, Catalog No. 27 (177 × 221, when open, curved at the top). The composition of the central panel is similar to the Count Harrach altarpiece, but lacks the Thieves. The workmanship is a shade better. A workshop product. • 156 × 92.7—158.8 × 42.2 cm. The dimensions exclude the frame.

57. (Plate 56) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*: left, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*; right, *St. Helen*; verso, left, *St. Sebastian*; right, *St. Roche*. Gallery of Count Harrach, Vienna. The so-called *Rohrau Altarpiece*. A workshop product. • Now Graf Harrachsche Familiensammlung, Rohrau castle; Inv. RA 282, RF 33; 151 × 103.5—153 × 47.5 cm.

58. (Plate 57) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*: left, the donor with two of his sons; right, the donatrix with three of her daughters; verso, left, in grisaille, *St. Adrian*; right, *St. Anne*. Brussels museum, No. 583 (94.5 × 59.5—24). Acquired in 1852. A robust workshop product.

59. (Plate 58) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 569a (124—92, curved at the top). A competent work by a follower. • This picture has disappeared 1381.

a. (Plate 58) Van den Corput collection, Brussels, subsequently on the Washington art market (127 × 100). Essentially the same composition, with added figures. No. 326 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. An imitation, further removed from Massys. • Now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, Missouri; Acc. No. 93: 26; 123.7 × 100.3 cm.

b. Valenciennes museum, see *Geborgene Kunstwerke*, 1918, No. 423 (40 × 27). A mediocre copy after entry a. • An examination at the Louvre laboratories in Paris

revealed that the picture dates from the 19th century (139).

c. Bruck collection, Kiel (33 × 22). A mediocre copy, like b. • Present location unknown.

d. Parker collection, London, a triptych (110 × 132), the centre-piece a copy after 59a. • Present location unknown.

e. (Plate 59) Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Lübeck. Composition as in a, but distributed over four tall shutters. See A. Goldschmidt, *Lübecker Malerei und Plastik*, Pl. 41. • Inv. No. 21; 180 × 38 cm (each shutter).

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60. *High Priest Holding the Infant Jesus*, half-length. Private ownership, Rome (90 × 50). Perhaps a fragment. Close to the master. • Present location unknown.

61. (Plate 59) *The Deposition*. Lázaro collection, Madrid (rounded at the top). An oft-repeated composition going back to Rogier, here well-elaborated in Quentin's style (see my Vol. II, No. 98c, Plate 111). • Central panel of a Triptych, the shutters of which were also painted.

62. (Plate 61) *The Lamentation*. London art market (Sabin, 1927, ca. 90 × 170). Close to the master, possibly an early work (40). • Now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; Inv. No. 4942; 68 × 137 cm.

63. (Plate 60) *The Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Brussels museum, No. 300 (180 × 183). According to the catalogue, this painting was probably in the house of the Guild of St. Luke, Antwerp, ever since 1505. Done by a competent imitator.

64. (Plate 61) *Pietà*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 565 (62 × 49). A mediocre imitation, of a type of which many specimens exist, especially in Spain (see No. 15). The Antwerp catalogue states that the original is preserved in a Cracow church, but this is in error, for the composition of the Cracow picture is different. A number of repetitions of this composition date back to about 1550. One of these replicas, in the collection of Principe Massimo, Rome, is oddly enough attributed to Massys in *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, Vol. 4, 1927, pp. 67 ff.

65. (Plate 61) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, bust-length, full-face. Aachen museum (collection of Dr. Weber, 66 × 43). Exhibited at the Renaissance exhibition in Berlin, 1883, No. 3.

a. Collection of Baron Schickler, Paris (63 × 47). A replica of equal merit, a good workshop product. No. 373 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. • On the art market, Madrid, in 1946. Present location unknown.

66. (Plate 62) *Virgin and Child*, at knee-length. Friedsam collection, New York (94 × 76). Previously in the collection of Baron Albert Oppenheim, Cologne. No. 278 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. With a very rich landscape background. An excellent work, following Massys closely, done by a younger master. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; No. 32.100.52; 95.3 × 76.9 cm.

67. (Plate 62) *Virgin and Child*, at knee-length. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 1529 (75 × 63). From the National Museum, The Hague, 1808. Supposedly in the van der Geest collection, Antwerp, prior to 1628, but this is wrong, since the picture of the van der Geest gallery shown in the painting by van Haecht (Plate 132) differs from the present specimen. Van Fornenberg described it as being in the Peter Stevens collection. Fine technique, but somewhat strange and heavy. Possibly an original. • Since 1948 on loan to the Mauritshuis, The Hague.

a. Northbrook Gallery, London (Catalogue No. 23, 72.5 × 50). An old copy.

Two specimens of this composition, evidently copies, have recently turned up on the art market. Both show the apple on the sill below to the right of the grapes, as in the painting of the van der Geest gallery, but unlike the Amsterdam specimen.

68. (Plate 62) *Virgin and Child*. Schleissheim (Pinakothek, Munich), No. 132 (89 × 70). In some parts worthy of the master, possibly an original.

a. (Plate 62) Wickham Flower collection, London (60 × 45). An old copy. Shown at the New Gallery, London, 1899/1900, No. 94. • Exhibited in 1946 at the Wildenstein Gallery, London; Cat. No. 8.

b. Cathedral, Hildesheim. A mediocre copy.

69. (Plate 63) *Virgin with the Child Sleeping on Her Breast*. Burckhardt-Bachofen collection, Basle (public art collection, No. 40, 65 × 52). By an imitator, possibly the Master of the Mansi Magdalene. • 65.5 × 51 cm.

a. Voigtländer collection, Leipzig (52 × 38). See *Cicerone*, Vol. 4, 1912, pp. 295 ff. By an imitator. • Present location unknown.

b. Langaard collection, Oslo, Catalogue No. 11 (55 × 43). Includes Joseph and an architectural background, but stylistically like the Basle picture. • Now in the National Gallery, Oslo; Inv. No. 1348.

This composition occurs repeatedly in mediocre replicas, against a gilt ground and without Joseph, for example in the Ghent museum (141). Jan Gossart used this composition. • See also Vol. VIII, No. 42.

70. (Plate 64) *St. Jerome*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 691 (57 × 77). Close to the master. Possibly a work by Jan Massys.

71. (Plate 65) *St. John the Evangelist*, at bust-length, fragment. Padua museum (rounded at the top). See *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 24, p. 268 (ill.).

72. (Plate 64) *St. Isabella*, at bust-length, full-face. Academy, Düsseldorf (from the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, No. 1439, 38 × 27). Subscribed: *Araíinha Santa Isabel*. Possibly by a competent imitator working in Portugal. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem (142).

73. (Plate 65) *St. Catherine Enthroned*, more than knee-length, head-on. Staatsgalerie, Vienna (reserve), inventory No. 983. Apparently a copy after Quentin Massys, done about 1550. • 103.9 × 80.7 cm.

74. (Plate 65) *The Magdalene*, at half-length, reading. Traumann collection (Madrid), present whereabouts unknown. Tondo. A frequently used composition, among others by the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. The head is in Quentin's style.

75. (Plate 66) *Portrait of a Donor*, shutter from an altarpiece. National Gallery, London, No. 1081 (67 × 32). Close to the master, especially in the shape of the head. ● 68.5 × 33 cm. Possibly cropped on all four sides (431).

76. (Plate 66) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a letter in his right hand. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 574 (51 × 37, rounded at the top). Inscribed: *Annum Agens 20*. Done about 1520, close to the master in shape and expression of the head. ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

77. (Plate 66) *Portrait of a Bearded Man*, at bust-length, showing the hands. Art market, The Hague (D. Hermesen, 43 × 35.5). No. 176 in the Royal Academy show of 1927, London. Very close to the master in conception (mouth open) and form of hands. ● Now in the Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam; 42 × 35 cm.

78. (Plate 67) *The So-Called Paracelsus*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2567a (72 × 55). A 16th century copy.

a. (Plate 67) Brussels museum, No. 388 (77 × 54). By Rubens.

The original may have once been in the van der Geest collection at Antwerp, see the painted gallery by van Haecht (Plate 132).

79. (Plate 68) *Bargain over a Chicken*. Dresden museum, No. 804 (85 × 115). By a competent imitator, possibly Jan Massys. ● See Vol. XIII, No. 41, where Friedländer describes the painting as an early work by Jan Massys.

80. (Plate 68) *Two Monks at Prayer*. Palazzo Doria, Rome (30 × 43). No. 382 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902.

a. (Plate 68) Schleissheim, No. 3039 (34 × 48). ● Owned by the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; Inv. No. 23.

This composition was repeatedly copied by imitators.

CATALOGUE C: PAINTINGS BY PUPILS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF QUENTIN: THE MASTER OF THE MORRISON TRIPTYCH, THE MASTER OF THE MANSI MAGDALENE, THE MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN AND THE MASTER OF FRANKFURT

THE MASTER OF THE MORRISON TRIPTYCH

81. (Plates 69–70) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child with Two Angels*: on the shutters, *St. John the Baptist* and *St. John the Evangelist*; verso *Adam and Eve*. Hugh

Morrison collection, London (97×60—36). No. 60 in the Royal Academy show London, 1927. A copy after Memling's Vienna altarpiece (my Vol. vi, No. 9). See p. 41, above. • Now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio; Acc. No. 54.5 A-C; Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1954; 97.1×60—110.8×36.8 cm.

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82. (Plate 71) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Flight into Egypt*. Belchite seminary, Saragossa. Exhibited in Saragossa in 1908, reproduced in the catalogue of that show by E. Bertaux (Librairie Centrale des Beaux Arts, Paris, Pl. 23).

83. (Plates 72-73) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin with Saints and Angels*: left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. John the Evangelist*. National Gallery, London, No. 1085 (66×43—17). From the Aders and Green collections. • 67×43.5—67.8×17.5—67.8×17.8 cm. The centrepiece has been shortened at the top, the shutters both at the top and below (44).

A replica with several more figures is in the *Escorial* (Plate 72), but located so as to make inspection difficult. See p. 42, above.

84. (Plate 74) *A Pair of Shutters from an Altarpiece: The Adoration of the Shepherds; The Adoration of the Magi*; verso, *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Church of the Holy Saviour, Valladolid (ca. 220×140). The altarpiece was donated by Licentiate Gonzalez in 1503 and is attributed to Quentin Massys by C. Justi (*Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1887). See Juan Agapito y Revilla, *La Capilla de San Juan Bautista*, Valladolid, 1912. Follows Massys closely, possibly a work by the Morrison master. See p. 44, above. • 237×142 cm (each shutter).

85. (Plate 75) *Sts. Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate*. Brussels museum, No. 668 (39×28). Dated 1500. Possibly by the Morrison master, in any event by the same hand as the next entry.

86. (Plate 74) *Jesus in the Home of Simon the Leper*. Berlin art market (van Diemen, 1927). Possibly by the Master of the Morrison Triptych. • Now in the Church of St. Bavo, Haarlem. At the bottom of the picture the following original inscription: *Item heynrick zuyderman van almaengen (?) een eerbaer coepman heeft ghefondeert | dit convent int iaer ons heren MCCCXLV of daer ontrent op sinte baven dach heeft hij dit huys ende erve ghegeven. god wilt hem laenen (sic) int ewighe leven 1451.*

87. (Plate 75) *The Adoration of the Magi*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 369, 177×102). • 167×108.5 cm.

88. (Plate 75) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, No. 75 (70×49). From the collection of Consul Bamberg. Not on exhibition at the present time. Possibly a work by the Morrison master, closely following Massys. See p. 44, above. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen, Switzerland.

a. Schlodtmann collection, Berlin. An old free copy. • Present location unknown.

89. (Plate 76) *The Magdalene*, seen head-on to the knee. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 574D (80 × 57). From the collection of Marquese Giovanni Battista Mansi, Lucca. See p. 45, above. • The discovery by Dr. Beets that the vessel held by the saint is ornamented after an etching by Altdorfer (B. 78) provides an indication for dating the painting—after 1525. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Collection of the king of Rumania, Sinaia, No. 106 in the catalogue of 1898 (55 × 42). A mediocre copy, without the landscape. • Now Peles castle, Sinaia 1461.

b. (Plate 76) James Man auction, Sotheby's, London, 1929, No. 32 (56 × 42.5). Very similar to a. • Present location unknown.

90. (Plate 76) *Adam and Eve*. Brussels museum, No. 602 (114 × 74). Free after Dürer's engraving, B. 1. • 110 × 72.5 cm.

a. (Plate 76) Private collection, Genoa. A free replica of approximately equal merit. • Present location unknown.

91. (Plate 77) *The Lamentation*. Virnich collection, Bonn (53 × 63). A study for two of the male heads in this picture, a drawing in colour, is in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin (reproduced in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 36, 1915, p. 9 (Plate 77)). • Present location unknown.

92. (Plate 77) *The Entombment*. Ghent museum, No. 53 (101 × 162). This composition follows in part Dürer's woodcut B. 44.

93. (Plate 78) *The Saviour*, standing, at full-length, seen head-on. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (No. 388 in Catalogue II, 71 × 53). The landscape partly follows Dürer's engraving of St. Eustace. See p. 45, above. • 73.2 × 56.8 cm.

94. (Plate 78) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 38 5-2 (47 × 36). Formerly in the Herriman collection, Rome. No. 372 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. See p. 46. • 48.6 × 38.7 cm.

95. (Plate 78) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Berlin art market (P. Cassirer, 1928, 48 × 39.5). Formerly in private hands in Madrid. • Sold at Paul Graupe, Berlin, 27th May 1935.

96. (Plate 78) *Virgin and Child*, at knee-length. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Castagnola, near Lugano. After an engraving by Marcantonio (B. 47).

97. (Plate 79) *The Holy Family Outdoors*. Panciatichi auction, Florence, No. 45, there attributed to Lucas van Leyden. • Sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, 14th October 1943; 52.1 × 36.8 cm. Present location unknown.

98. (Plate 79) *The Holy Family*. E. Gavet auction, Paris, 1897, No. 751 (49 × 40). In part after Dürer's engraving B. 44, *Virgin with the Grasshopper*. • Present location unknown.

a. Brussels art market, 1921. A copy or forgery. • Present location unknown.

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99. (Plate 79) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, the Virgin seen to the knees. Paris art market (75 × 48). No. 66 in the Mme. E. Warneck auction, Paris, 1905. Free and inverted after Dürer's engraving, *Virgin with a Monkey*. • Now in a private collection, Brussels; 75.5 × 52.5 cm.

100. (Plate 80) *The Magdalene*, at half-length. Amsterdam art market (Goudstikker, 1928, 53 × 36, rounded at the top). No. 198 in the Royal Academy Show, London, 1927. • Now in the Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht, Netherlands.

101. (Plate 80) *The Magdalene*, at half-length. Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie, No. 28 (83 × 72). Not in all respects typical of the master. • Now in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen und Museum, Dessau; 84 × 71 cm.

102. (Plate 80) *Judith and the Boy Hercules*, in the nude, side by side. Ricketts and Shannon collection, London. • Now in the National Gallery, London; Inv. No. 4891; 89.5 × 52.5 cm.

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103. *Seven Panels from an Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection).

A. (Plates 81, 83) *The Presentation in the Temple*, No. 384 (92 × 31).

B. (Plate 81) *Jesus among the Doctors*, No. 385 (92 × 31).

C. (Plate 81) *Christ Carrying the Cross*, No. 383 (92 × 64).

D. (Plate 82) *Christ on the Cross with Soldiers and Mourners*, No. 386 (76 × 60).

E. (Plate 81) *The Entombment*, No. 387 (92 × 65).

F. (Plate 81) *Mater Dolorosa*, No. 388 (103 × 32).

G. (Plates 81, 83) *The Donatrix, Kneeling, with St. Oda*, No. 389 (103 × 32).

Traditionally, the Flight into Egypt and the Lamentation were among the Seven Sorrows, hence this altarpiece seems not have survived in toto. A shutter showing the donor is also presumably missing. Three of the panels (A, B and C) have been arbitrarily joined into a triptych. The panels come from the church of St. Catherine in Hoogstraeten, a place some 22 miles Northeast of Antwerp. See p. 51, above. • Now joined into a single altarpiece. • A. 95.1 × 31.3 cm; B. 95 × 31.3 cm; C. 92 × 64.5 cm; D. 76.4 × 61 cm; E. 92.5 × 64.8 cm; F. 96.4 × 32 cm; G. 95.5 × 32 cm (slightly rounded at the top, originally with a pointed arch, which has been cut down).

104. (Plate 84) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp (Catalogue No. 25, 81 × 71—31). • 83.4 × 73.1—85.4 × 33.1—85.6 × 33.2 cm.

105. (Plate 84) *Altarpiece with Shutters, the Adoration of the Magi*: on each the shutters two representations, one above the other, *The Presentation in the Temple*, *The Annunciation*, *The Nativity*, *The Flight into Egypt* (after Schongauer's engraving). John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (not in the catalogue). Previously in the Mary Blair collection, Paris. • Inv. No. 60; 31.7 × 21.9—15.2 × 10.8 cm.

106. (Plate 85) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*, the figures at half-length. Church of San Domenico, Savona. The left shutter was recently stolen. • The left shutter has recently turned up in private hands in Milan. • Church of San Giovanni, 100 × 83—100 × 39 cm (right shutter). The left shutter, 81 × 36 cm, now in the Paul Ackermann collection, Stuttgart.

107. (Plate 85) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: Christ Carrying the Cross; The Resurrection*. Berlin art market (Haberstock, 1920). From the Donaueschingen museum (No. 4 in the catalogue of 1870, 56 × 20 each). • Present location unknown.

108. (Plate 85) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Baptist; St. Jerome*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 674 (not in the catalogue of 1928). • Inv. No. 979; 27.5 × 10.9—27.5 × 10.8 cm.

109. (Plate 86) *The Nativity*. Josef Cremer auction, Wertheim, Berlin, 1929, No. 25 (114.5 × 73, rounded at the top). • Present location unknown.

110. (Plate 86) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Berlin art market (Bottenwieser, 1928, 57.5 × 46). • About 1933 on the Amsterdam art market (P. de Boer). For the shutters see Add. No. 201.

111. (Plate 86) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park (67.5 × 70). Reproduced in Arundel Club publication No. 9, 1913, there ascribed to Gerard David. Freely copied after Gerard David. • In the sale of the Spencer-Churchill art collection at Christie's, London, 28th May 1965. Cat. No. 41 (attributed to G. David). Later at the Weitzner Gallery, New York.

112. (Plate 87) *The Presentation in the Temple*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (No. 370, Catalogue II, 65 × 32.5). Somewhat overcleaned (471).

113. (Plate 87) *The Taking of Christ*. Buckingham Palace, London.

114. (Plate 87) *Christ Shown to the People*, the figures at half-length. Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park. Acquired in 1913, not part of the original Northwick Park inventory (481).

115. (Plate 87) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin and St. John. Berlin art market (Rochlitz, 1929, 38.5 × 28.5). • Present location unknown.

116. (Plate 88) *Virgin, Seated on a Bench Outdoors*. Pallavicini auction, London, May

1929 (491, No. 9 (42 × 32). • The painting was sold in Frankfurt on 12th June 1928, No. 61.

117. (Plate 88) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Brussels museum, No. 551 (34 × 22.5).

118. (Plate 88) *Virgin Enthroned with Sts. Catherine and Barbara*. Benda collection, Vienna (28.5 × 21). • Now in the Staatsgalerie, Vienna. • Inv. No. 6978; 28.2 × 20.8 cm.

a. (Plate 88) Buckingham Palace, London. A replica without the architecture, in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists. • 50.8 × 38.1 cm.

b. Private ownership, Rome. The composition entirely as in a, likewise in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists. • Present location unknown.

119. (Plate 89) *Virgin Enthroned with Sts. Catherine and Barbara*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 698 (84 × 70). The posture of the Child is apparently borrowed from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden. Other features suggest a model. • Cat. No. 1019; 87 × 73 cm.

120. (Plate 89) *Virgin Seated Outdoors with a Music-Making Angel*. Lippmann auction, Lepke, Berlin, 1912, No. 39 (91 × 74). • Now on the London art market (T. Harris). • Present location unknown.

121. (Plate 89) *The Holy Family*, with two female saints. Munich art market (Böhler, 1929, 56 × 41). A composition used on several occasions by the Master of Frankfurt (No. 152). • In 1931 in the N. Abrons collection, New York.

a. (Plate 89) Dollfus auction, Paris 1912, No. 96 (64 × 51). • Present location unknown.

122. (Plate 90) *Virgin with St. Catherine and another Saint*, and an angel bearing a fruit bowl. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (No. 371, Catalogue II, 77.5 × 67.5). The composition is borrowed in part from a far more considerable picture (Plate 90) in the Wedells collection, Hamburg, which is probably a youthful work by Jan Gossart (50). • 80.6 × 71.4 cm.

a. Munich art market (Dr. Meller, 1927). A good replica, with changes in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists.

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123. (Plate 91) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Circumcision*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), Nos. 168–170 (161 × 215–100). The central panel is a free adaptation, inverted, of the Monforte *Adoration* by van der Goes, and the shutters may have been after the lost shutters of that altarpiece. On the relation of this picture to van der Goes, see A. Goldschmidt *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, new series, Vol. 26, pp. 221 ff. • 160 × 214–161 × 101 cm (511).

124. (Plate 92) *Altarpiece with Shutters, the Adoration of the Magi*: left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Circumcision*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 647 (99 × 55—23). The central panel is a free adaptation of the Monforte *Adoration* by van der Goes, while the shutters differ from those of the Antwerp altarpiece (No. 123). Somewhat crude in execution, with many unfamiliar features 1521.

a. Paris art market, 1912. A replica of the central panel, of approximately equal merit. • Probably later in New York (Duveen Gallery, 1946) 1531.

125. (Plate 93) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Berlin art market (Bachstitz, 1929), from the Gans collection, Frankfurt (102 × 72—34). The posture of the Child differs from the replicas. • 1938 on the Amsterdam art market (P. de Boer); 104 × 72—33 cm.

a. (Plate 94) Stuttgart museum, No. 121 (100 × 72—34). A replica with minor differences, of approximately equal merit. The portraitlike heads of the Kings are different, the eldest resembling Emperor Frederic III (perhaps after a medallion or coin), the one on the right Emperor Maximilian. The one on the left may be the donor.

b. (Plate 94) Cardinal Despuig auction, Paris, 1900, No. 31 (126 × 80—36). A replica of approximately equal merit. The heads are as in a, except that the King on the left, rather than giving the impression of a portrait, is negroid, as in the picture in the Gans collection. • 1954 in the Dr. William S. Serri collection, Camden, New Jersey.

c. (Plate 95) National Museum, Copenhagen (from a church in Nykøbing, 115 × 85—38). Corresponds essentially with the altarpiece in the Gans collection.

d. (Plate 95) Convent church, Guadalupe. Essentially in agreement with the altarpiece in the Gans collection. • On the outside of the shutters an *Annunciation*.

e. Private ownership, Paris. Except for the posture of the Child, in all respects in agreement with the altarpiece in the Gans collection. • Now in the collection of Count M. de Fontarce, Bellevue (Seine-et-Oise). • Present location unknown; 115 × 135—55 cm. On the outside of the shutters an *Annunciation*.

126. (Plate 96) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Baptism of Christ*: left, *St. Michael*; right *St. Francis*; verso, *The Annunciation*. Barcelona museum (from the Cabot collection, 155 × 95—40).

127. (Plate 97) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*: left, St. Hugo with the donor; right, St. Catherine with the donatrix. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 60–62 (102 × 70—30, curved at the top). Formerly in the Carthusian church, Cologne.

128. (Plates 98–99) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 81 (116 × 77—37, rounded at the top). A donation by Claus Humbracht, citizen of Frankfurt, who is pictured with his family on the insides of the shutters. On the versos, an allegorical representation of the vanity of life, with a body lying on a bier. Done about 1504. See p. 54, above. • The shutters 119 × 37 cm. On the right shutter the donor Greda Brun.

129. (Plates 100–101) *Altarpiece with Shutters, the Holy Kindred*: left, *Birth of the Virgin*; right, *Death of the Virgin*; verso, in grisaille, *Sts. Agnes, Lucy, Valentine, Gregory, Martin and Joseph*. Municipal historical museum, Frankfurt, Nos. 259–264 (212 × 126–56). On this major work from the Dominican church in Frankfurt, see Weizsäcker, *Die Kunstschatze des ehemaligen Dominikanerklosters in Frankfurt*, 1923, pp. 126 ff. Two panels in grisaille, a *Flight into Egypt* and a *Massacre of the Innocents*, in the Stuttgart museum (Nos. 115, 116, 54 × 54 each) belong with this altarpiece, also a *St. Cecilia* and a *St. Odilia*, two panels that have recently turned up on the Berlin art market (Galerie Matthiesen). Done about 1505. See p. 54, above. o The two shutters (54) missing in Frankfurt are now on the Amsterdam art market (Goudstikker). • This last panel now in the Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum, Utrecht; Cat. No. C213. The two other panels in Stuttgart, 53.7 × 54.8 cm. The triptych in Frankfurt, 212 × 126–214 × 58 cm.

130. (Plate 102) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child with St. Anne*: left, *St. Catherine*; right, *St. Barbara*; verso, in grisaille, *The Annunciation*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Nos. 515–515B (87 × 55–25, curved at the top). • Now in the Bode-Museum, Berlin (East), No. 575A–575B.

a. (Plate 103) Harck collection, Leipzig (57 × 90). Combined with the shutters into a single wide picture. Like the ones that follow, a replica of approximately equal merit.

b. New York art market (Ehrich Galleries, 1913, 62 × 50). The central panel only.

c. Genoa art market (60 × 46). The central panel only.

d. (Plate 103) Berlin art market (Bachstitz). From the collection of Dr. Freund (70 × 47). The shutters only. • Now in the P. de Boer collection, Amsterdam; 69 × 24.5 cm (each panel).

e. Florence art market (1926). The shutters only, their composition showing some differences.

131. (Plate 104) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Family*, with four music-making angels: left, *St. Catherine*; right, *St. Barbara*. London art market (Spanish Art Gallery, 1917). o Subsequently on the Munich art market (J. Böhrer). • Auctioned on 3th February 1954, at Sotheby's London, No. 101; 60.5 × 54.5 cm. (the open triptych, the original frames included) 1551. Width of the centrepiece 39 cm, each shutter 15.5 cm.

132. (Plate 104) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned*, with two music-making angels: shutters, the donor and the donatrix with saints. Museo Civico, Pistoia (curved at the top). • 106 × 65–21 cm.

133. (Plate 105) *Adam and Eve*, versos from a pair of altarpiece shutters. Thomee collection, Altena. Free after the famous figures from the Ghent altarpiece by the van Eycks. • 74 × 46.5 cm, transferred from wood to canvas.

134. (Plate 105) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: St. Catherine with an elderly donatrix; St. Barbara with a young woman and two children. Collection of Leo Katz, Berlin (87.5 × 51, rounded at the top). The lost *Christ Carrying the Cross* (No. 143) may have belonged with these shutters. Armorial bearings at the top. • Now in the City Art Gallery, Manchester, Inv. No. 1957.510; 87.5 × 26 cm.

135. (Plate 105) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: The donor with a son and a holy pilgrim; the donatrix with a daughter and St. Elisabeth. New York art market (Ehrich Galleries, 1914). • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago; Nos. 33.1046—33.1047; 74.6 × 44.2—74 × 43.9 cm.

136. (Plate 106) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: Sts. Catherine and Barbara, Seated. Prado, Madrid, Nos. 2195, 2196 (79 × 27 each). From Segovia. • For the centrepiece, see Add. No. 203.

a. (Plate 106) Collection of Robert C. Vose (30 × 23—10). A triptych with a *Holy Family* in the centre and the two saints on the shutters. A robust workshop product. There is a better specimen of this *Holy Family*, but its whereabouts are unknown to me. • At one time the triptych was owned by Mrs. Edwin Webster, Boston. Present location unknown.

137. (Plate 107) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: Sts. Catherine and Barbara. Pannwitz collection, de Hartekamp, near Haarlem (158 × 71 each). Copied after the shutters of an altarpiece in the Lisbon Museum, which I believe to be a youthful work of Jan Gossart. See p. 56, above. The lost centrepiece was presumably likewise copied after the Lisbon altarpiece. A replica of the entire triptych, crudely in the style of the Master of Frankfurt, is in the collection of Dr. Nelson, Liverpool. • Now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague. For the centrepiece see Suppl. No. 188. For the triptych in Lisbon, see Vol. VIII, No. 1. The picture from the Nelson collection was auctioned at Sotheby's, London, on 3rd February, 1954, No. 101; present location unknown; 125.7 × 170.8 cm (open).

138. (Plate 107) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: St. Andrew with the donor: St. Elisabeth (?). Dresden museum, No. 807 (75 × 24.5 each). • Transferred from wood to canvas. The panel with St. Andrew and a donor was lost during the Second World War 1561.

139. (Plate 107) A. *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*: Sts. Christopher and Roch. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Nos. 360-363 (73 × 26 each).

B. *The Annunciation*, in grisaille, from the verso, relinquished by the museum in 1926, now on the Berlin art market (Galerie Matthiessen). • Braunschweig collection, Hamburg. • Present location unknown.

140. (Plate 108) *The Nativity*. Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 236 (42 × 74.5).

141. (Plate 108) *The Nativity*. Valenciennes museum, No. 201 (70 × 74). The composition agrees in part with the picture in the Kaufmann collection, which points

back to Jan Joest of Kalkar. The common original source may have been a composition by van der Goes.

142. (Plate 109) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 568 (165 × 71). • 156 × 41 cm.

143. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. The panel (rounded at the top), was lost in 1918 in transit from Freiburg (Breisgau) to Berlin. I believe that the shutters to this work are the panels with saints and donors in the Katz collection, Berlin (No. 134).

144. *The Lamentation*. Provinzialmuseum, Bonn. No. 132 (64 × 105). From the Wesendonk collection. Somewhat crude, possibly by an imitator. • Auctioned on 27th November 1935 at Lempertz, Cologne, No. 57.

145. (Plate 109) *Christ Appearing to His Mother*. Strahov monastery, Prague (ca. 200 × 100). • Now in the Narodní Galerie, Prague; Inv. No. 0.7267; 138.5 × 76.3 cm.

146. (Plate 110) *St. Peter Escorting the Blessed*. Private collection, Paris. Shown in Paris in the Primitifs Français exhibition (not in the catalogue). • Present location unknown.

147. (Plate 110) *Virgin Seated Outdoors under a Canopy*. Karlsruhe museum, No. 134 (75 × 51).

a. Accademia Carrara, Bergamo. A good replica. • Cat. No. 463; 65 × 45 cm.

b. Collection of Percy B. Pubbs 1571, London. Shown at the Royal Academy exhibition, London (1927), No. 220 (71 × 48). An excellent replica. • Now in the collection of The Trustees of the late Percy B. Tubbs, London; 68.7 × 47.5 cm.

c. (Plate 110) Berlin art market, 1920 (58 × 45). A good replica.

148. (Plate 111) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Chillingworth collection, Nuremberg, present whereabouts unknown. Previously No. 84 in the Voss auction, Lepke, 1901 (40 × 30). • In 1958 in the A. M. Stuyt collection, The Hague.

149. (Plate 111) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. No. 89 at the Lepke auction, Berlin, 22nd March 1910 (57 × 45). • Present location unknown.

150. (Plate 111) *The Holy Family*, at full-length. Amsterdam art market (Hoogendijk, 1928, 77 × 58). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Castagnola, near Lugano; cat. 1958, No. 275.

a. (Plate 111) Munich art market, 1925 (58 × 40—18). The central panel repeated, at half-length and without Joseph. On the shutters Sts. Francis and Agnes (58).

151. (Plate 112) *Virgin with Two Angels*. Ghent museum, No. 1906 (47 × 35). A very early work. See p. 56, above.

152. (Plate 112) *Virgin with St. James the Pilgrim, St. Catherine and the Donor with St. Peter*. Berlin art market (Perls, 1929). From the Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz (70 × 55). No. 158 in the Bruges exhibition of 1902. The master repeated this composition on several occasions, with modifications. See p. 55, above. • Now in the Norton Simon Museum of Art, Fullerton, California.

a. New York art market (Ehrich Galleries, 1913). The *Virgin with St. Barbara and the Magdalene* (84 × 62). A robust workshop product. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 113) Casbas, Huesca. An altarpiece with a central panel much like a but including Joseph. On each of the shutters a music-making angel. Exhibited in Saragossa in 1908, see the catalogue of that show, by Bertaux, 1911, Pl. 24. • Now in the Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, California, Acq. No. 30: 5; 71.7 × 47.3 cm.

c. (Plate 113) Collection of Román Vicente, Saragossa. Agrees with the central panel of b. • Later in the Torello collection, Barcelona.

d. Berlin art market (Dr. Benedict, 1927, 33.5 × 26.5). A good repetition, including the two female saints and Joseph. This composition was also used by the Master of Hoogstraeten (No. 121) and by another master (Buckingham Palace, London). • Auctioned 28th March 1935, Lepke, Berlin, Cat. No. 14.

153. (Plate 113) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Emil Goldschmidt auction, Lepke, Berlin, 1909, No. 34 (69 × 53). • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 113) Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 50 (62 × 50). The central panel of the altarpiece of the van Beest family (the shutters of which are of different style). • The triptych, belonging to the Nérée van Babberick collection, was on loan at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from 1899 to 1909. Auctioned on 29th November—3rd December 1968 at Lempertz, Cologne, Cat. No. 25; 93.5 × 62 cm (centrepiece with the predella); 75 × 33 cm (each shutter). The two shutters were ascribed by Friedländer to the Master of Delft. See Vol. x, No. 63.

154. (Plate 114) *St. Christopher*. Berlin art market, 1927. • Now in the Dr. J. H. van Heck collection, 's-Heerenberg, Netherlands; 42.5 × 33.5 cm.

155. (Plate 114) *St. Christopher*. Collection of Otto Mayer, Berlin (46 × 31). • Now in the Mauritshuis, The Hague, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen (1948).

156. (Plate 115) *An Altarpiece Shutter: St. Roch with a Donatrix*. René della Faille de Waerloos auction, Amsterdam, No. 11 (86.5 × 27.5). • Later in the Lanz collection, Amsterdam. Present location unknown.

157. (Plate 115) *An Altarpiece Shutter: Sts. Barbara and Catherine*. Ferdinandeum, Innsbruck, No. 134 (105 × 53).

158. *A Music-Making Angel, Standing*. Oppenheim collection, Berlin, present whereabouts unknown (40 × 12).

159. (Plate 116) *Portrait of Francis of Tassis (Taxis)*, postmaster. Christie auction, London, 22nd February 1929, No. 18 (54 × 35). From Corsham House. An inscription gives the age of the sitter as 55 (Tassis died late in the year 1517) • Later on the art market (Gooden & Fox, London). Present location unknown; 54.6 × 45.7 cm 1591.

160. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, rounded at the top. Munich art market (J. Drey, Jr., 1921). • 1948 Eisner collection, The Hague; 61 × 29 cm.

161. (Plate 116) *Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian*, bust-length. Figdor collection, Vienna. There are several replicas of this somewhat crudely executed portrait. • Auctioned on 4th May 1937 at Lempertz, Cologne. Cat. No. 10. Present location unknown; 57 × 37.5 cm.

162. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Man*, tondo. Berlin art market (P. Cassirer, 1926). From the collection of Prince Lichnowsky. • Later in the Harris Jones collection, New York; Diam. 24 cm.

163. (Plate 117) *Double Portrait of the Master and His Wife*. Auspitz collection, Vienna (36 × 27, curved at the top). Dated 1496. See p. 54, above, • Now in the collection of Baron van der Elst, Vienna. • Now in a private collection, Geneva.

164. (Plates 118–119) *Festival of the Archers*. Antwerp museum, No. 529 (176 × 141). See detailed data in the Antwerp catalogue. See p. 56, above. Done shortly before 1493.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CATALOGUES

QUENTIN MASSYS

I have been able to enlarge the view which I have formed of Quentin Massys and tried to convey in words, but it has not changed.

Suppl. 165. (Plate 33) *Virgin, Standing, with Angels*. Collection of Count Seilern, Vienna. • Now in the Count A. Seilern collection, London, Cat. No. 3; 47.5 × 33 cm. Cf. No. 27 1601.

Suppl. 166. (Plate 32) *Virgin, Standing, outdoors*. Private collection, France (48 × 33 cm.) • Now in a private collection, Switzerland.

Suppl. 167. (Plate 120) *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in the mature style of Quentin (83 × 55, rounded at the top). De Bruyn collection, Spiez. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. De Bruyn-van der Leeuw, 1961). On loan to the Mauritshuis, The Hague; 83.8 × 57.1 cm.

Suppl. 168. (Plate 120) *Virgin and Child*, at half-length. Van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam, from private hands, in Paris. • Now in the Boymans-van Beuningen-Museum, Rotterdam; No. 2460; 41 × 28 cm.

With every piece that is justifiably added to his œuvre, Massys becomes better known as a portraitist, for in every case he sets out to find a new solution to the task. I am now able to extend the series of his portraits.

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Suppl. 169. (Plate 49) *Portrait of a Man*. Pendant to the *Portrait of a Woman*, No. 48, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The male portrait is now in the Bodmer collection, Zurich, but was formerly in the Lenbach collection, Munich, where it was exhibited in 1901. • Now in the Mrs. H. von Schulthess-Bodmer collection, Schloss Au, Switzerland; 48 × 42 cm.

Suppl. 170. (Plate 121) *A Pair of Portraits*. London art market (Colnaghi, 1934). Exceptionally, these pictures bear the master's signature. • Now in the Mansion of Polesden Lacey, The National Trust; 33.1 × 26.4 cm (painted surface; the man's portrait; signed Q. Metsys)—31.7 × 24.8 cm (painted surface; the portrait of a lady).

Suppl. 171. (Plate 121) *Portrait of a Man*. Windsor Castle. Dated 1527, believed to be Thomas Linacre.

Suppl. 172. (Plate 121) *Portrait of King Christian II of Denmark*. Episcopal museum, Kroměříž (Moravia). Done about 1525. The tradition according to which this portrait is ascribed to Quentin is amply borne out by stylistic analysis. The panel was subsequently enlarged 1611.

The following two paintings may possibly be genre pieces by Quentin's hand. Many such pieces were done in his studio and were copied by his followers.

Suppl. 173. (Plate 122) *A Group of Men in Caricature Style*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 2068 (41 × 59). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

Suppl. 174. (Plate 122) *A Group of Four Men in Caricature Style*. Doria museum, Rome (60 × 90).

THE MASTER OF THE MORRISON TRIPTYCH

Suppl. 175. (Plate 123) *St. Paul*, at half-length. London art market (Dr. Bloch, 1936). • Present location unknown.

Suppl. 176. (Plate 123) *Christ at the Home of Simon the Leper*. Sotheby auction, 9th December 1931 (41 × 53), there described as 'Early French School'. Like No. 86. • Art Gallery, York, No. 745; 42.5 × 53.9 cm.

Suppl. 177. (Plate 123) *St. Jerome Outdoors*. London art market (Dr. Bloch, 1937).
● Present location unknown.

THE MASTER OF THE MANSI MAGDALENE

82 Two closely related panels with Mary Magdalene in half-length—from the Spiridon collection, Paris (auctioned in Berlin) and the Pani collection, Paris—are close to this master. A *Virgin of the Sorrows* in half-length, in the reserve collection of the Pinakothek, Munich, may also be by his hand.

○ Suppl. 178. (Plate 124) *Mary Magdalene in half-length*. Spiridon collection, Paris (auctioned in Berlin). ● Now, Palacio de la Virreina, Barcelona (Legado Cambó); Inv. No. 64.999; 61 × 44.2 cm.

○ Suppl. 179. *Mary Magdalene in half-length*. Pani collection, Paris. ● Present location unknown.

○ Suppl. 180. (Plate 124) *Virgin of the Sorrows*. Pinakothek, Munich. Inv. No. 9; 52 × 37 cm.

Suppl. 181. *Virgin and Child*, at knee-length. London art market (Douglas, 1934, 100 × 72). ● Present location unknown.

Suppl. 182. *Virgin and Child*, at knee-length. Amsterdam art market (Hoogendijk, 1931, 42 × 33.5). ● Present location unknown.

Suppl. 183. (Plate 124) *The Holy Family*. Berlin art market (P. Cassirer, 1928).
● Present location unknown.

Suppl. 184. (Plate 124) *The Holy Family*. Museum of the municipal hospital, Brussels. ● Cat. 1950, No. 2; 84 × 55 cm.

THE MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN

Suppl. 185. *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child*, at half-length: shutters, female saints. Kress collection, New York. ● 31.9 × 57.6 cm (open). Now Mrs. R. H. Kress collection, New York.

Suppl. 186. (Plate 126) *The Lamentation*. Munich art market (J. Böhler, 1936, 36.5 × 26.5). ● Present location unknown.

Suppl. 187. (Plate 125) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*. Twenthe museum, Enschede. ● Inv. No. 42; 66 × 50—22.5 cm.

Paintings by this master which have subsequently become known to me are almost without exception replicas. Like Joos van Cleve, he ran a busy workshop, and a more complete list of his works has neither altered nor enlarged my ideas about his art.

Suppl. 188. (Plate 107) *The Holy Family with Four Angels*, full-length. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (152 × 152). • Cat. 1963 No. 1020; 156.2 × 155.9 cm. Centre-piece of a triptych to which belong the two shutters, No. 137 1621.

Suppl. 189. (Plate 126) *Portrait of a Man*. National museum, Munich (rounded at the top). • Inv. R. 560; 76.2 × 54.7 cm.

ADDENDA

o Add. 190. (Plate 127) *Portrait of an Old Woman*. Present location and measurements unknown. Quentin Massys. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, 'Quentin Massys as a painter of genre pictures', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIX, 1947, p. 116.

o Add. 191 (Plate 127) *Portrait of a Bagpiper*. Dortmund, Heinrich Becker collection; Oil on paper, 31.6 × 21.5 cm. Quentin Massys. Cf. M.J. Friedländer, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

o Add. 192. (Plate 127) *Festive party*. Formerly on the Vienna art market; present location unknown; canvas, 55 × 91 cm. Quentin Massys (replica). Cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 119 1631.

• Add. 193 A. (Plate 11) *Christ Carrying the Cross*. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Inv. No. 1821; 82.5 × 82.5 cm. Quentin Massys. Like Nos. 4 and Add. 193 B and 193 C this work belonged to the series of *The Virgin of the Seven Sorrows*, now divided between the Lisbon and Worcester museums, and the Escola Nacional de Belas-Artes, Rio de Janeiro. Cf. R. Dos Santos, 'O Políptico da Madre de Deus de Quintino Metsys. Palestra feita ao grupo dos "Amigos do Museu" em 3 de dezembro de 1938', Lisbon, 1939.

• Add. 193 B. (Plate 11) *Calvary*. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Inv. No. 1702; 92 × 90.5 cm. Quentin Massys. Cf. Add. No. 193 A.

• Add. 193 C. (Plate 11) *Pietà*. Rio de Janeiro, Escola Nacional de Belas-Artes, Ferreira das Neves Bequest; 82.5 × 79.5 cm. Quentin Massys. Cf. Add. No. 193 A and J.R. Teixeira Leite, 'Um Quadro de Metsijs no Brasil', in *Coloquio*, VIII, 1960, p. 25 1641.

• Add. 194. (Plate 128) *Portrait of a Man*. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle, No. 2458; 54.3 × 39.3 cm. On a painted label at the bottom of the painting the date:

Ano 1517.13. die Martij 1651. Cf. P. Wescher, 'Des Erasmus Bildnisse von Jean Clouet und Quinten Massys', in *Pantheon*, xviii, 1960, pp. 242-244.

● Add. 195. (Plate 129) *Pietà*. Gaeta, Cathedral, 90 × 131 cm. Probably bought by the cardinal Tommaso de Vio (1469-1534). The painting has been placed on the altar of the family of Jacopo de Vio. Quentin Massys. Cf. E. K. Waterhouse, 'An unnoticed Quentin Massys', in *The Burlington Magazine*, lxxxix, 1947, p. 280.

● Add. 196. (Plate 129) *The Scourging of Christ* and *Ecce Homo*, verso: *The Annunciation* (two shutters from a triptych). Coimbra, Museu de Machado de Castro, Inv. No. 2518-2519; 191 × 92 cm. Quentin Massys. To be dated between the end of 1513 and the middle of 1517. Cf. J. de Figueiredo, 'Metsys e Portugal', in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, Brussels, 1931, pp. 167 ff. 1661.

A fragment of a *Virgin of Sorrows* (Plate 129), *ibid.*; oval, 47 × 31.5 cm, comes perhaps from the lost centre panel of the same altarpiece 1671.

● Add. 197. (Plate 130) *Virgin Enthroned*. Hradec Castle near Opava (Silesia), on permanent loan from the Silesian Museum in Opava; 109.5 × 70.8 cm. Quentin Massys. Cf. J. Pešina, 'An unknown painting by Quentin Massys', in *The Art Bulletin*, xxxviii, 1966, pp. 406-408.

● Add. 198. (Plate 131) *Ecce Homo*, Zürich, Kunsthau, Inv. No. 2604, 123.5 × 104.8 cm. Master of the Morrison triptych. Cf. W. R. Valentiner, 'Simon van Herlam, the Master of the Morrison triptych', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6me pér., xlv, 1955, pp. 9-10 1681.

● Add. 199. (Plate 131) *The Death of the Virgin*. Darmstadt, Landesmuseum; 85.5 × 84.5 cm. Master of the Morrison triptych. Cf. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem, dem Meister des Morrison Triptychons', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vii, 1965, p. 181.

● Add. 200. (Plate 131) *Two Donors, St. Francis and St. Catherine* (fragment of an altar shutter). Formerly in the Conde de San Clemente de Roda Collection, Madrid; now in a private collection, Madrid; 70 × 48 cm. Master of the Morrison triptych. Cf. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem...', p. 181.

● Add. 201. (Plate 86) *The Moorish King* and *St. Joseph*, verso: *St. John the Evangelist* and *St. Barbara*. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; 58.7 × 19.2 cm. Master of Hoogstraeten. The shutters of the *Adoration of the Magi*, No. 110. Cf. Pinkney L. Near, 'A Reconstructed Altar', in *Bulletin of the Virginia Museum*, xviii, 1957, No. 3 (not folioed) and H. Comstock, 'Panels from a Flemish Altar Painting Given to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts', in *The Connoisseur*, cxxxix, 1957, pp. 203-204.

● Add. 202. (Plate 132) Triptych: *The Lamentation* (centre panel), *Christ Carrying the Cross* (left shutter), *The Resurrection* (right shutter), *Pilate Washing His Hands*

(shutters closed). Watervliet, Notre-Dame: 238.5×236 — 157.5×122 — 157×112 cm. Master of Frankfurt. Cf. Ed. Michel, 'Le Maître de Francfort', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xii, 1934, pp. 236-244 [69].

● Add. 203. (Plate 106) *The Holy Family with Angel Musician*. Formerly Caracas, Pedro Vallenilla collection, then Wildenstein & Co., New York. Now in a private collection. Master of Frankfurt. Centre panel of the triptych of which the shutters are in the Prado (No. 136). Cf. H. G. Sperling, 'The Centre Panel of a Triptych by the Master of Frankfurt', in *Art in America*, xxxi, 1943, pp. 46-47 [70].

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○ Add. 204. (Plate 131) *The Nativity*. New York, Robert Lehman Collection; 57.1×39.4 cm. Master of Frankfurt, after Jan Joest. Cf. M. J. Friedländer, vol. ix, No. 4d.

Editor's Note

Quentin Massys, by his work, occupies a central place in the evolution of painting in the Early Netherlands. He forms a link between the tradition-weighted 15th century and the rising Renaissance, and as a captivating artist of strong personality he stands out against the background of the art of his time. It is not surprising that the interest of art historians in this artist has never flagged.

Even after publication of volume XIV of the present work, Friedländer himself on several occasions reverted to certain aspects of the painter's work. Thus in an article on the impact of tradition in Flemish painting (171) he refers to a composition by Massys, characteristic for the early 16th century, the *Virgin, Standing, with Angels*, now in the Count Seilern collection in London (No. 27; suppl. No. 165). The prototype of this goes back to the *Virgin in the Apse* by the Master of Flémalle (172), known in many specimens, although the original is now lost; among the copies ascribed to Massys a *Virgin in a Landscape* in Amsterdam (Suppl. No. 166), seems to be the earliest.

In another article Friedländer analyzes some of the earlier paintings by the master that characterize his development (173). Among his youthful works he mentions the *St. Christopher* in the Antwerp museum (No. 32), testifying to the influence of the Bouts tradition, the large *Virgin Enthroned* in the Brussels museum (No. 17) and the *Virgin* in the National Gallery, London (No. 25). Along the same lines Friedländer has studied the *Pietà* (Frank T. Sabin, London; No. 62) comparing it with the central panel of the Antwerp triptych (No. 1). This painting still shows some awkwardnesses in the rendering of the hands and the treatment of the drapery, suggesting that it preceded the *St. Christopher* and the two *Virgins*.

L. Reis-Santos (174) too has looked into the problem of Massys's youthful paintings prior to the Louvain triptych, and more particularly those now in Portuguese collections (175).

Genre painting is another aspect of Massys's art, the origins of which Friedländer endeavoured to define and the significance of which he stresses (176). While secular elements began to invade his compositions, the painter, fascinated as he was by the variety and individuality of material things, always maintained a link with religion. The point of departure for his genre paintings can be found in his religious scenes, where the ugly always represents 'wickedness and stupidity'. Some of his grotesques are clearly inspired by Leonardo drawings and his genre scenes always carry a moral.

To the three previously published pictures illustrating his article, Friedländer adds three new paintings: a *Festive Party* (formerly on the Vienna art market; Add. No. 192), a copy after Massys, one of the figures going back to a Leonardo drawing (177); a *Portrait of an Old Woman* (present location unknown; Add. No. 190), an original, that may be the portrait mentioned in the inventory of the collection of Archduke Leopold-William; and a *Portrait of a Bagpiper* (Becker collection, Dortmund, Add. No. 191), the unusual technique of which (oil on paper) lends weight

to the attribution to Massys; for J. van Winge, in 1616, owned a 'head of a laughing old man, oil on paper, extremely well executed by Master Quentin.'

A rather brief monograph on Massys by K. G. Boon (178) provides an excellent summary, without adding any new attributions. It places the painter properly in his time, gives a biography and presents the master's entire oeuvre. Another monograph, less thorough, has been published by H. Verschaeren (179).

L. Mallet's (180) chronology, based on an analysis of Massys's works, differs only slightly from the chronologies proposed by Friedländer and K. G. Boon.

In his *Early Netherlandish Painting* Erwin Panofsky (181) devotes a few pages to Massys, particularly the master's relation to 15th-century tradition and the Italian Renaissance, which he succeeds in integrating (182).

H. Taylor Broadley (183) has turned his attention to the whole of Massys's work. Starting out from a few paintings of undoubted authenticity, the author defines the master's style. He too proceeds to examine the master's relation to the 15th century and the Italian Renaissance and places him within the artistic and intellectual context of his time.

E. P. Richardson (184) evokes the personality and historical evolution of Massys, basing himself on a series of paintings from American collections.

More specialized are the researches of H. Roosen-Runge (185) on the *Gestaltung der Farbe* in the master's oeuvre. Considering five paintings and triptychs, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted, Roosen-Runge asserts that Massys's contribution lies in the domain of colour rather than of form.

Adopting the theory that each artist belongs to a distinct generation—Massys to that born around 1460—W. Vanbeselaere (186) counts him among the heralds of the Renaissance and sees his work as revealing a search for content rather than for form.

The fact that Jan Massys worked in his father's studio brings up the question of whether certain paintings should be given to the father or the son. L. Reis-Santos (187) has tried to distinguish three categories: copies by Jan after Quentin (188), pictures painted in close collaboration (189) and paintings by Quentin finished by his son (190). This author considers the diptych with the *Christ Giving the Blessing* and the *Virgin* (Prado, Cat. No. 1915) as a work of Quentin Massys, while Friedländer, notwithstanding the inscription with the painter's name, never accepted this attribution and F. J. Sanchez-Cantón (191) sees in it the hand of Jan Massys.

As for the relation between some compositions by Massys and van der Goes, reference is made to the book by Fr. Winkler (192).

There has been little original documentary research concerning Massys in the last 30 years. A. de Laet (193) has established the genealogy of the family and contributed some new elements and corrections to the painter's biography. K. Smeyers (194) found two paintings by Quentin Massys mentioned in an inventory of the collections of the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella which he identifies as the *Virgin and Child* in Berlin (No. 18) and the *Virgin and Child* in the Louvre (No. 24), as well as two other paintings by the master—both representing a *Pietà*—which he could not trace.

Without giving his source, Fl. Prims (195) mentions that the coopers' guild of Antwerp commissioned Massys in 1498 or soon afterwards to paint a *Deposition*.

This painting has been lost, but the commission shows the esteem the painter already enjoyed in that sea port.

F. J. Sanchez-Cantón (1961) gives some old sources on Massys in the Iberian Peninsula, together with a survey of the major paintings to be found there.

An engraving by A. Wiericx, a *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (Plate 134), gives the original to Massys. An inventory of Pompeo Petrobelli of 1653 does mention such a composition by Massys and L. Reis-Santos (1971) has published a fragment (Plate 134) in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (1981), which reproduces the *St. Luke* of the print in reverse. He concludes, however, that either the panel is a copy by Massys after van der Goes or the inscription on the print is not correct (1991).

The influence which Erasmus exercised upon Quentin Massys has been the theme of more than one publication. While A. Gerlo (1900) studied the subject essentially in the light of the *Portrait of Erasmus and Peter Gillis* (Nos. 36-37), J. Muls (1901) and G. Marlier (1902) have stressed the spiritual parallelism between the work of the painter and the humanist.

Some paintings from Friedländer's catalogue have particularly preoccupied the art historians. Thus, S. Sulzberger (1903) has studied the influence of Leonardo da Vinci on some of Massys's compositions, and J. Białostocki (1904) has stressed its importance for the *Virgin and Child* in the Poznań Museum (No. 19), inspired by Leonardo's famous painting in the Louvre, *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. The influence upon Massys of the Renaissance reveals itself more in his decor than in the treatment of the figures and the surrounding space. The landscape in the Poznań picture, generally attributed to Patenier, may well be by the brush of Cornelis Massys or perhaps the Master of the Female Half-Lengths. This landscape does not at all follow Leonardo and has nothing of his mystical qualities. Massys shows his figures too in a purely human way.

H. von Welser (1905) has been able to establish some details concerning the globe in the triptych of Lucas Rem in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 3). Apparently this triptych was not painted in the wake of the plague epidemic in Antwerp in 1519, but during the outbreak that ravaged Lisbon from 1503 to 1509. At this time Lucas Rem was in Lisbon as agent for the Welser family of German merchants, who had commissioned him to organize an expedition to India. The globe at the foot of the Cross, which has a symbolic significance, was probably painted after a model dating from 1502-1503 and presumably refers to the donor's mission.

S. Sulzberger (1906) sees a connection between the *Banker and his Wife* (No. 53) and a text by Nicholas Cusanus, *De ludo globi*, published in 1463, and thinks that the convex mirror suggests that the painter must have known certain treatises on optics.

The supposed portrait of Paracelsus (No. 78) is the subject of a thorough study by G. Von der Osten (1907), who advances the opinion that the lost original was not from the hand of Massys, but by the German painter Wolf Huber.

Since the catalogue of Massys's *œuvre* compiled by Friedländer is very complete, it has been thought preferable to limit the *Addenda* (Nos 190-197) to a few of the more significant paintings. The paintings discussed in print however, cannot be overlooked, even though, valid as they are, they add little to our knowledge of the painter and are difficult to authenticate. Here is the list: *The Magdalene* (Detroit

Institute of Arts, Acc. No. 40.130; 32×22.5 cm); *The Virgin in Adoration* (New York, art market, 1941; present location unknown) (11081); *Portrait of St. Bernardino of Sienna* (collection of Dr. Ricardo de Espirito Santo Silva, Lisbon; present location unknown; 31.7×24.7 cm) (11091); *Christ giving the Blessing* (Winterthur museum, Inv. No. 63; 46×36 cm) (11101); *The Virgin with the Sleeping Child* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours, bequest of President Merville; 19×18 cm); *Virgin and Child* (Hôtel de Tessé, Le Mans, Cat. 1932, No. 357; 47×39 cm); two fragments from a *Pietà* (private English collection; lost during the Second World War; oval 35.5×25.5—37×26.4 cm) (11111); *Portrait of a Man* (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham; 66.3×51 cm) (11121); *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne and St. John* (private Spanish collection; arched top; 65×50 cm) (11131); *The Virgin and Child Enthroned* (P. Wittock collection, Brussels) (11141); *The Virgin on the Crescent* (Narodowe museum, Poznań, Inv. No. MO 412; 52×36 cm) (11151); *The Virgin of Sorrows* (Musei di San Matteo, Pisa, deposit from the Chiesa dei Cavalieri di S. Stefano; 74×54 cm) (11161); *St. Jerome* (Grzimek collection, Ravensburg; 105×99 cm) (11171); *Angel Appearing to Sts. Clare, Agnes and Colette* (Museu Municipal, Setubal, Inv. No. 19; 156.5×101 cm) (11181); *Portrait of a Merchant and his Partner* (Cailleux collection, Paris; 80×70 cm) (11191); *Allegory of Folly* (Dr. J. S. Held collection, New York; 60×47.5 cm) (11201); *Old woman tearing her hair* (Museo del Prado, Madrid, Inv. No. 3074; 54×40 cm) (1120a1); and *Christ on the Cross, between the Virgin, St. John and two Donors* (Count A. Seilern collection, London, No. 295; 50×34.5 cm) (1120b1).

L. van Puyvelde (11211) and L. Reis-Santos (11221) have tried to identify the works of one Edouard Portugalois, suggesting that some works attributed to Massys may have been done by this painter (11231), others in collaboration in the workshop of Massys (11241), while still others are copies after Massys (11251). Since no documented work by Portugalois is known, all this remains hypothetical.

THE MASTER OF THE MORRISON TRIPTYCH

G. Nieto Gallo (11261) has advanced the hypothesis that the Master of the Morrison Triptych is none other than the pupil whom Massys had entered in the register in Antwerp in 1495 under the name of 'Ariaen'. Friedländer had already suggested that this Ariaen was the same who became a master in 1503. Nieto Gallo, however, thinks that he was Adriaen Skilleman, entered as master in 1499.

W.R. Valentiner (11271), thinks that the Master of the Morrison Triptych was Simon van Herlam, documented as having been in Antwerp from 1502 to 1524. This identification is based on the one hand on some cross-checking in the biographies of Simon van Herlam and of Jan Joest and Joos van Cleve, and on the other hand on certain Antwerp touches and Dutch influences, traceable more particularly to Geertgen, that are discernible in the œuvre of the Master of the Morrison Triptych. The theory has been accepted by P. Wescher (11281), who adds a few attributions, but it is rejected by such other specialists as M. Davies (11291) and O. Wittman (11301).

Davies (11311) gives a very thorough analysis of the triptych at the National Gallery (No. 83) (11321), in which he does not see the same hand as in the Morrison

Triptych, while Valentiner [133] considers the London triptych to be a replica of the Escorial triptych.

Some further attributions, that have been made are not listed among the Addenda: *Virgin Enthroned* (in 1946 in the A. J. Vidal collection, New York; present location unknown) [134]; *Baptism of Christ* (Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enschede, Inv. No. 44; 48 × 36 cm) [135]; *Virgin Outdoors* (Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Inv. No. 186566; 55.5 × 34 cm); *Virgin Enthroned* (P. De Boer collection, Amsterdam; charcoal drawing, heightened with white, on dark grey paper, 264 × 182 mm) [136]; triptych, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* (central panel), *St. John the Baptist* (left shutter) and *St. John the Evangelist* (right shutter) (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. No. 1277; 133 × 98—140 × 45 cm); *The Nativity* (Ribeira Brava, Madeira, Igreja Paroquial; 221 × 142 cm, shortened); *Adoration of the Magi* (Ribeira Brava, Madeira, Igreja paroquial; 152 × 77 cm, shortened, verso, *St. Isabella*) [137].

THE MASTER OF HOOGSTRAETEN

We note a tentative identification of this master. On the premise that the painter was trained in the workshop of Memling, V. N. Volskaja [138] has advanced the possibility that he was Passcier van der Mersch, a pupil of Memling in 1483. This is at odds with G. J. Hoogewerff's hypothesis [139] that the painter was of Dutch origin and, more precisely, came from the artistic milieu of Gouda.

Apart from the two shutters listed as Addenda (Add. No. 201), some further attributions have been made since the publication of Friedländer's volume XIV: *The Annunciation* (Pushkin Museum, Moscow, Inv. No. N 1869; 34 × 25 cm) [140]; *Sts. Catherine and Barbara* (two shutters, private collection, Madrid; 51 × 17 cm) [141]; *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* (Prado, Madrid, Cat. No. 1617; 47 × 36 cm) [142]; and *Virgin and Child* (private collection, Los Angeles) [143].

S. Leurs [144] believes he has identified the church in the *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple* at the Antwerp Museum (No. 103 A) as the Church of Saint Germain in Tirlmont.

THE MASTER OF FRANKFURT

G. J. Hoogewerff [145], in the few pages of his work devoted to the Master of Frankfurt, puts the accent on his origin. He probably received his artistic training in the region of Cologne and the circle around Jan Joest of Calcar; and the representation of Utrecht cathedral in one of the Frankfurt triptychs (No. 128) may suggest his origin, without proving it.

Most of the few articles published on this painter are concerned with the question of his identity. W. R. Valentiner [146] has suggested that he was Jan de Vos, an Antwerp master in 1489, who is mentioned in documents in Frankfurt in 1512 and 1522 and who lived for a certain time in Cologne, where he died in 1533. This painter must have maintained contact with Antwerp, for his name is documented intermittently on several occasions in that town [147].

A. J. J. Delen [148] does not accept this identification, proposing another which had already been proposed informally by J. S. Held. Delen suggests that we may be

dealing with Heyndrik van Wueluwe, an Antwerp master in 1483, who died in 1533. He must have been an artist of some reputation, as he assumed important functions in the painters' guild at various times.

Lastly P. Vanaise [149] has taken up the problem on the basis of a new analysis of the paintings ascribed to the Master of Frankfurt. He distinguishes at least two groups of works from the stylistic point of view, including a number of self-portraits that not do always seem to represent the same person. On the one hand there are pictures apparently connected with the two Frankfurt triptychs (Nos. 128 and 129) and on the other hand those from the hand of another painter, the Master of Watervliet, associated with a triptych in Watervliet church (Add. No. 202) [150]. Possibly this may serve to reconcile the two identifications given before.

The study by P. Vanaise is one of a number published on the occasion of the restoration of the Watervliet triptych [151], including the following authors: P. Vanaise [152]; N. Veronee-Verhaegen [153]; N. Goetghebuer, R. Lefève, A. Philippot and J. Thissen [154]; and A. and P. Philippot [155].

Following the reinstallation of the triptych in the church at Watervliet, I. Stockman [156] made some observations on the theological meaning of the composition, the donor of the work and some of the monuments in the background landscape.

Several compositions by the Master of Frankfurt are derived from works by van der Goes. They have been taken up and studied by Fr. Winkler in his book on the Ghent painter [157].

A. Pigler [158] has tentatively explained the meaning of the fly painted on the head-dress of the painter's wife in the *Portrait of the Painter and His Wife* (No. 163) and comes to the conclusion that there is a connection—direct or indirect—with the *Portrait of a Lady of the Hofer Family*, a painting of the Swabian School from about 1480 (National Gallery, London, Inv. No. 722), in which we also find a fly on the head-dress of the wife.

Let us lastly mention some further attributions not listed under the heading of Addenda [159]: *Triptych of the Passion* [160]; *An Episode from the Siege of Malines in 1303 by John II, Duke of Brabant* (Pushkin museum, Moscow, Inv. No. 1727, Chuvalow collection; 108 × 70 cm) [161]; *Virgin and Child* (Eychenne collection, Mexico City); *Virgin Enthroned* (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Inv. No. 37.773; 78.3 × 56.1 cm); *Virgin Enthroned* (Detroit Institute of Arts, Inv. No. 89.59; 69.8 × 55.9 cm); *Deposition* (formerly collection of E. Schwarz, New York 109 × 71 cm) [162]; two shutters, *Sts. Catherine and Barbara* (Schaeffer Galleries, New York, from the collection of A. Keller, New York) [163]; *Triptych of the Passion* (private French collection; 114.2 × 75—32.3 cm) [164]; *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* (Museo Nazionale Pepoli, Trapani, Inv. No. 318; 51.5 × 36.5 cm) [165]; and *Virgin and Child Crowned by Two Angels* (Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, Inv. Wil. 2992; 58.3 × 39.8 cm) [166].

1. The painting has since been cleaned.
2. The painting is complete: it shows an unpainted border on the four sides.
3. Cf. John Gough Nichols, 'Remarks on Some Pictures of Quinten Metsys and Holbein, in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor, at Longford Castle', in *Archaeologia*, XLIV, p. 435 ff. (read on 15th May 1872).
4. See also F. Baillon, 'Quentin Metsys', in *Bulletin de l'Alliance Numismatique Européenne*, 1958, pp. 25-26, 33-36, 41-43, 49-50.
5. Vol. IX, No. 37.
6. Cf. German edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 9-77.
7. Cf. German edition, Vol. IX, pp. 20-73.
8. Cf. German edition, Vol. IX, pp. 96-100.
9. Vol. IX, No. 67.
10. Actually, 'from the North'.
11. Cf. German edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 78-144.
12. Cf. German edition, Vol. IX, pp. 74-92.
13. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, pp. 31-34.
14. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, pp. 59-72.
15. Cf. German edition, Vol. VIII, pp. 9-77.
16. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, pp. 19-30.
17. In his Vol. XII (German edition pp. 99-100) Friedländer revised his opinion and considers this identification unlikely.
18. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, p. 16.
19. Cf. German edition, Vol. XII, pp. 42-51.
20. Cf. German edition, Vol. IX, pp. 20-65.
21. Cf. German edition, Vol. IX, pp. 101-124.
22. Actually, 'from the North'.
23. Cf. German edition, Vol. XI, pp. 31-34, where Friedländer discusses Goswyn van der Weyden at length without, however, drawing up a catalogue of the works of this master at the end of the volume.
24. According to Friedländer, German edition, Vol. XI, p. 31, the altarpiece entered the Baron van der Elst collection, Vienna. It is now in a private collection in Geneva.
25. G. Hulin de Loo appears never to have published such a study on Goswyn van der Weyden.
26. The text reads: *uit Jonsten versamt*.
27. In the original edition: 17 is twice given for 27.
28. The text reads:
Dit tafereel gaf Peeter de Camerele+
Hier te deser stede+
Godt verleent sijn sele+
Den eenwighen vrede+MCCCCXCIII
29. Vol. VIII, No. 1.
30. According to the sales catalogue, edited by Friedländer.
31. The acquisition of the two paintings by the Lisbon Museum was the occasion for the publication by R. Dos Santos of,

'O políptico da Madre de Deus de Quintino Metsys. Palestra Feita ao Grupo dos "Amigos do Museu" em 3 de Dezembro de 1938', Lisbon, 1939. See also L. Reis-Santos, *Obras-Primas da Pintura Flamenga dos Séculos XV e XVI em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1953, pp. 83-84.

32. A photograph in the Friedländer Archives at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague shows the painting enlarged on three sides, compared with the reproduction in the German edition (Vol. VII pl. xv). Unable to find a satisfactory explanation for this discrepancy, we decided to reproduce both.

33. Cf. the catalogue of the exhibition *Nederlandse Primitieven in Nederlands Particulier Bezit*, Laren, Museum Singer, 1961, Cat. No. 55.

34. See S. Hartveld, 'Eene Madonna van Quinten Metsys in de St. Jacobskerk te Antwerpen', in *Antwerpen's Oudheidkundige Kring*, XIV de Jaarboek, 1938, pp. 59-61.

35. See M. Vincent, 'La Vierge à l'Enfant Entourée d'Ange de Quentin Metsys au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon', in *Bulletin des Musées Lyonnais*, II (1957-1961), pp. 21-29.

35a. See J. S. Held, 'Alterations and Mutilations of Works of Art', in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXII, 1963, figs. 39-41.

36. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd edition, London, 1968, p. 92.

37. Cf. catalogue of the exhibition *Drei Jahrhunderte Flämische Kunst*, Vienna, 1930, No. 67.

38. K. Martin, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei*, Munich, 1965, p. 18.

39. Kindly communicated by André Hardy, curator of the Valenciennes Museum.

40. For the dating of this panel see M. J. Friedländer, 'Quentin Metsys: Reflexions on his Development', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 53-54.

41. Inv. No. 1907-H; 43 x 31.5 cm, rounded at the top.

42. Cf. L. Reis-Santos, 'Quentin Metsys, seus discipulos e continuadores em Portugal', in *Panorama* (Lisbon), XI, 1942, p. 8.

43. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd edition, London, 1968, p. 96.

44. Cf. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd edition, London, 1968, p. 138. Davies lists the triptych as 'Netherlandish School'.

45. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem, dem Meister des Morrison Triptychons', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 7, 1965, p. 184. The painting was not the one sold at Sotheby's, London on 9th December 1931, as asserted by P. Wescher. We are here dealing with another work with the same theme. See Suppl. No. 176.

46. See L. van Puyvelde, 'Tableaux de l'Ecole flamande en Roumanie', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, X, 1940, p. 44.

47. There now given to Goswyn van der Weyden.
48. The painting did not appear in the sale of the collection at Christie's, 28th May 1965.
49. The sale took place on 27th May 1927.
50. Cf. German edition Vol. XI, pp. 75-78, pl. LIII.
51. Cf. Vol. IV, No. 17d. On the origin of the painting see J. De Coe, 'Ridder Florent van Ertborn naderbij', in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1954-60, pp. 42-43.
52. Cf. Vol. IV, No. 17b.
53. Cf. Vol. IV, No. 17c.
54. In fact a single panel with the two saints, Cecilia and Odilia.
55. Cf. J. Bialostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne. I' (*Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*, IX), Brussels, 1966, p. 126.
56. H. Ebert, 'Über die Rückgewinnung zeitweilig verschollener Werke der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie', in *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Jahrbuch 1963-64*, Dresden, 1966, p. 29.
57. Read *Tubbs* instead of *Pubbs*.
58. Possibly the triptych in the former M. Rothschild collection, Vienna, sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, on 15th April 1953.
59. For the portraits of François de Tassis see O. Le Maire, 'Les Portraits de François de Tassis, Organisateur des Postes Internationales, 1459-1517', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 203-216.
60. *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London S.W. 7*, London, 1955, pp. 5-6. Cf. also Editor's Note, p. 85 and Note 82.
61. M. J. Friedländer, 'Bildnisse des Dänenkönigs Christian II', in *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, I, 1938, pp. 96-97, says that the painting is already mentioned as a work by Massys in an inventory of 1680. G. Glück, 'Portraetter af Christian II og Hans Hustru Isabella', in *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, XXVII, 1940, pp. 15-16, suggests that the portrait may be related to a payment of 20 guilders made by the banker Pompejus Occo of Amsterdam in 1521, for the account of King Christian II.
62. Cf. M. Compton, 'A triptych by the Master of Frankfurt', in *Liverpool Bulletin*, VII, 1958-59, No. 3, pp. 5ff.
63. Another version of this composition (Cl. Y. Pallitz collection, New York; 55.9 × 83.9 cm) has been published as an original by E. Larsen, 'Un Quentin Metsys Inconnu à New York', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XIX, 1950, pp. 171-174.
64. See also J. R. Teixeira Leite, 'A "Lamentação ao Pé da Cruz" do Retábulo das Sete Dôres da Virgem de Quinten Metsys, no Rio de Janeiro', in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Belas Artes*, Rio de Janeiro, III, 1962, No. 1.
65. For the full inscription see Jan Lauts, *Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe. Katalog Alte Meister bis 1800*, Karlsruhe, 1966, p. 181.
66. See also J. de Figueiredo, 'Metsys et le Portugal', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, III, 1933, pp. 7-8. Although this was published in 1931, these two panels are not

- included—without doubt by simple omission—in volume XIV of Friedländer. The attribution, however, is generally accepted. See among others K. G. Boon, *Quinten Massys*, Amsterdam [1942], p. 29; L. Reis-Santos, 'Quentin Metsys, seus discipulos e continuadores em Portugal', in *Panorama*, Lisbon, XI, 1942, p. 10; F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, 'Notas sobre Quinten Massys en la Península', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 313; L. Reis-Santos, *Obras primas da pintura flemenga dos séculos XV e XVI em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1953, pp. 85-86; Idem, *Museu Machado de Castro. Catálogo de Arte Flamenga do Século XVI*, Coimbra, 1954, pp. 19-20 (with full bibliography); L. Mallé, 'Quentin Metsys', in *Commentari*, VI, 1955, p. 95.
67. Cf. J. de Figueiredo, 'Metsys e Portugal', in *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, Brussels, 1931, p. 167, Note 1; L. Reis-Santos, 'Quentin Metsys...', p. 10.
68. For the *Christ at the Home of Simon*, mentioned by Valentiner as a pendant to this picture, see Note 135.
69. Friedländer has not included this triptych in the supplements in his Volume XIV. The attribution to the Master of Frankfurt seems, however, to have been generally accepted. See in particular the studies (with full bibliography) published on the occasion of the restoration of the triptych (Notes 149-155) and the theory put forward by P. Vanais who sees in it the same hand as in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Antwerp Museum (No. 123).
70. See also W. R. Valentiner, 'Jan de Vos, the Master of Frankfurt', in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, p. 212.
71. M. J. Friedländer, 'Über den Zwang der Ikonographischen Tradition in der Flämischen Kunst', in *The Art Quarterly*, I, 1938, pp. 19-22.
72. Cf. Vol. II, No. 74.
73. M. J. Friedländer, 'Quinten Massys: Reflexions on His Development', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, pp. 53-54.
74. L. Reis-Santos, 'Painéis de Metsys em Portugal Anteriores ao Retábulo de Lovaina', in *Belas-Artes*, Lisbon, XII, 1958, pp. 12-23; published also as an offprint, Lisbon, 1958.
75. Concerns the triptych with the *Deposition*, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the *Resurrection*, and on the reverse *St. John the Baptist* and *St. John the Evangelist*, which came from the Madre de Deus de Xabregas Church and now belongs to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (Cat. No. 221: 243 × 185.5—93.5 cm); the triptych with the *Life of Christ* at the São João Baptista Church in Tomar showing the *Baptism of Christ*, *The Marriage at Cana*, *The Temptation* and on the reverse *St. John the Evangelist* and *St. Andrew* (278 × 218—109, including the frames), both attributed to the workshop of Q. Massys; and the *Angel Appearing to Sts. Clare, Agnes and Colette*, from the Church of Jesus in Setúbal, now belonging to the Municipal Museum of that town (Inv. No. 19; 156.5 × 101 cm), and considered by the author as an original. On the two triptychs see also L. Reis-Santos, 'Quinten Metsys, seus Discipulos e Continuadores em Portugal', in *Panorama*, Lisbon, XI, 1942, p. 8.
76. M. J. Friedländer, 'Quinten Massys as a Painter of genre pictures', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXIX, 1947, pp. 115-119. The main features of this article also in R. M. Heilbrunn,

Max. J. Friedländer. *Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen*, Mainz-Berlin, 1967, pp. 69-73.

77. For the New York version of this composition see Note 63.

78. K. G. Boon, *Quentin Massys*, Amsterdam [1942].

79. H. Verschaeren, 'Quinten Metsijs' (*I Maestri del Colore*, 164), Florence, 1966. Republished by H. Verschaeren and E. de Bonafos, 'Quinten Metsijs' (*Chefs-d'Œuvre de l'Art. Grands Peintres*, 118), Paris, 1968.

80. L. Mallé, 'Quinten Metsys', in *Commentari*, VII, 1955, pp. 79-107.

81. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 2nd edition, Cambridge (Mass.), 1958, pp. 353-356.

82. To illustrate his thesis, Panofsky comments on only a few pictures. Among these, he considers the *Virgin Standing* from the Count A. Seilern Collection, London (Suppl. No. 165) an original, while the *Virgin in the Lyons Museum* (No. 27) is only a 'competent replica' and the version in a private Swiss collection (Suppl. No. 166) 'apparently executed by an assistant'.

83. H. Taylor Broadley, *The Mature Style of Quinten Massys*, unpublished thesis. A résumé in *Marsyas*, XI, 1962-64, p. 71.

84. E. P. Richardson, 'Quinten Massys', in *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, pp. 163-177.

85. H. Roosen-Runge, *Die Gestaltung der Farbe bei Quentin Metsys*, Munich, 1940.

86. W. van Beslaere, 'Quinten Metsys', in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, IX, 1943, pp. 255-267.

87. L. Reis-Santos, *Jan Quinten Massys, Discipulo e Colaborador de seu Pai Mestre Quinten Metsys*, Lisbon, 1964, (published as offprint of *Belas-Artes*, XX, 1964).

88. The *Christ giving the Blessing* in Winterthur (see Note 110); a *Virgin with Child* (Paris, Pardo gallery, 1954; 66x48 cm), a copy after the picture by Massys in the Louvre (No. 24).

89. *Bargain over a Chicken*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (No. 79); the *St. Jerome*, Prado, Madrid (Cat. No. 2099), listed by Friedländer among the works of Jan Massys (See Vol. XIII, No. 29).

90. The *Holy Family* (London, Harris gallery, 1934; subsequently in a private collection in Lisbon), listed by Friedländer among the works of Jan Massys (see Vol. XIII, No. 26); The *Holy Family with St. Elisabeth and St. John the Baptist* (London, Harris gallery, 1933), also listed by Friedländer as Jan Massys (see Vol. XIII, No. 27); The *Card Players* (London, Wildenstein gallery, 1954).

91. F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, 'Notas sobre Quintin Massys en la Peninsula', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 314.

92. Fr. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, *passim*. Concerns mainly the *St. Christopher*, Antwerp Museum, (No. 32), the *Adoration of the Magi*, Berlin Museum (No. 59) and the *Adoration of the Magi*, Lübeck Museum (No. 59e).

93. A. De Laet, 'Quinten Massys. Voorgeslacht, Leven en Kunst', in *De Schakel*, 1954, pp. 119-152.

94. M. Smeyers, 'Schilderijen van Kwinten Metsys in het Be-zit der Aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, I, Ghent, 1968, pp. 139-152.

95. Fl. Prims, 'Quinten Massys, een Onbegrepen Meteoor',

in *Antverpiensia*, XXII, 1951 (1952), pp. 160-163.

96. F. J. Sanchez-Cantón, 'Notas sobre Quintin Massys en la Peninsula', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XVII, 1944, pp. 308-315.

97. L. Reis-Santos, 'A Lost Work of Massys and a Hitherto Unknown van der Goes', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, pp. 162-167; idem, *Obras primas de pintura flamenga em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1953, pp. 61-62.

98. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. No. 1459; 104x62.5 cm.

99. See also Fr. Winkler, *Das Werk...*, pp. 221-226 and M. J. Friedländer (English edition), Vol. IV, p. 88, Add. No. 140.

100. A. Gerlo, 'Erasmus en Quinten Metsijs', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XIV, 1944, pp. 33-45; the text of this publication reprinted in the same author's *Erasme et Ses Portraitistes, Metsys, Dürer, Holbein*, Brussels, 1950, pp. 9-24, and in his *Erasmus en zijn Portrettisten, Metsijs, Dürer, Holbein*, Antwerp, 1968, pp. 5-19.

101. J. Muls, 'Erasmus en Quinten Metsys. De Erasmeaanse Geest in het werk van Quinten Metsys', in *Dietse Warande en Belfort*, 1947, pp. 465-475, 546-558; republished as *Erasmus en Quinten Massys*, Antwerp, 1953.

102. G. Marlier, *Erasme et la Peinture Flamande de Son Temps*, Damme, 1954, *passim*.

103. S. Sulzberger, 'L'influence de Léonard de Vinci et ses Répercussions à Anvers', in *Arte Lombarda*, I, 1955, pp. 105-111.

104. J. Bialostocki, 'Leonardo i Nederlandczyzy', in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, XVII, 1955, pp. 369-370; idem, 'Poznańskie Leonardianum. Wwagi o Madonnie Quintina Massysa w Muzeum Narodowym w Poznaniu', in *Studia Muzealne*, II, 1957, pp. 112-150.

105. H. von Welser, 'Der Globus des Lukas Rem', in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, XLVIII, 1958, pp. 96-114.

106. S. Sulzberger, 'Considérations sur le Chef-d'Œuvre de Quentin Metsys: Le Prêtre et sa Femme', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XIV, 1965, pp. 27-34.

107. G. Von der Osten, '"Paracelsus"—ein Verlorenes Bildnis von Wolf Huber?', in *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1968, pp. 201-214.

108. E. P. Richardson, 'Quinten Massys', in *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, pp. 164 et 170.

109. L. Reis-Santos, *Le Portrait de Saint Bernardin de Sienne par Quintin Metsys*, Lisbon, 1949. See also Marquês de Lozoya, 'Algunas Perdidas del Patrimonio Nacional y de los Patronatos Reales en los Años de 1936-1939', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXV, 1962, pp. 90-91. There is another version of this composition at the Descalzas Reales in Madrid and a third at the Museo Civico in Feltre, exhibited in Florence in 1948.

110. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Quinten Metsys, der Segnende Christus', in *Hauptwerke des Kunstmuseums Winterthur*, Winterthur, 1949, pp. 15-18. See also L. Reis-Santos, *Jan Quinten Massys, Discipulo e Colaborador de seu Pai Mestre Quinten Metsys*, Lisbon, 1964 (offprint of *Belas-Artes*, No. XX), p. 7. Reis-Santos gives the painting to Jan Massys. It is a copy (reversed) of the picture in the Prado.

111. Gr. Ring, 'Additions to the Works of Jan Provost and Quentin Massys. II. Some Unpublished Works by Massys', in *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXX, 1942, pp. 71-73. According to this author, the two fragments may come from the same picture as the fragment in the Berlin museum (No. 34).

112. A.C. Sewter, 'A Portrait by Quentin Massys at the Barber Institute, Birmingham', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXVI, 1948, pp. 209-218. The sitter is identified as Jean Carondelet. At the Barber Institute the painting is no longer credited to Quentin Massys.

113. F.J. Sanchez-Cantón, 'Notas sobre Quintin Massys en la Península', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, XVII, 1944, p. 308. Probably the central piece of a triptych.

114. P. Philippot, 'Une Vierge Inédite de Quentin Metsys', in *Annales du XXXI^e Congrès de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*, Gand 1955, Ghent, 1956, pp. 384-386.

115. A. Dobrzycka, 'La Madonne sur le croissant' de Quentin Massys', in *Biuletyn historii sztuki*, XXII, 1960, pp. 106-107.

116. F. Bologna, 'Nuove Attribuzioni a Jan Provost', in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts [de Belgique]*, v, 1956, p. 26.

117. G. Grzimek, 'Signatur von Quinten Massys auf einem Bilde des Hl. Hieronymus. Eine neue Zuschreibung zur Diskussion gestellt', in *Die Weltkunst*, XXX, 1960, No. 17, p. 5.

118. See Notes 74 and 75.

119. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Un portrait de Marchand par Quentin Metsys et les Percepteurs d'Impôts par Marin van Reyerswale', in *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, XXVII, 1957, pp. 3-23.

120. E. Tietze-Conrat, *Dwarfs and Jesters in Art*, London, 1957, pp. 19, 94; *Holbein and his Contemporaries*, John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis, 1950, No. 50.

120a. E. Bermejo, 'Early Paintings in the Prado', in *Apollo*, May 1970, p. 341.

120b. [A.S.], *Flemish Paintings & Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London S.W. 7*, iv *Addenda*, London, 1969, pp. 3-4.

121. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Edouard Portugalois', in *Pantheon*, XVIII, 1960, pp. 288-295. Van Puyvelde interprets the initials E.P. on the *St. Jerome* as the monogram of the painter, but this theory has been refuted by J. Bruyn, 'Zu einer Zuschreibung an Edouard Portugalois', in *Pantheon*, XIX, 1961, p. LX.

122. L. Reis-Santos, 'Painéis de Metsys em Portugal Anteriores ao Retábulo de Lovaina', in *Belas-Artes*, Lisbon, XII, 1958, p. 7; idem, 'Eduard Portugalois—Disciple et Collaborateur de Quentin Metsys', in *Pantheon*, XXVI, 1968, pp. 185-196.

123. L. Van Puyvelde attributes to Edouard Portugalois the *Virgin with Two Angels* from the former von Pannwitz collection (No. 26) and the *Virgin Standing with Angels* in the Lyons Museum (No. 27).

124. According to L. Reis-Santos, this would perhaps apply to the triptych with the *Deposition* in the Lisbon museum and to the triptych with the *Life of Christ* at the Tomar Church (see Note 63).

125. Among others, the *Virgin Enthroned*, in the Lisbon mu-

seum after Massys (No. 26a), given by the two authors to Portugal.

126. G. Nieto Gallo, 'El Retablo de San Juan Bautista en la Iglesia del Salvador de Valladolid ¿Quentin Metsys o Adriaen Skilleman?', in *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, Valladolid, fasc. XIII-XXI, 1941, pp. 47-70.

127. W.R. Valentiner, 'Simon van Herlam, the Master of the Morrison triptych', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XLV, 1955, pp. 5-10. The same study also published in *Essays in Honor of Hans Tietze, 1880-1954*, New York, 1958, pp. 285-290.

128. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem, dem Meister des Morrison Triptychons', in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, VII, 1965, pp. 175-188.

129. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues. Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd edition, London, 1968, p. 122.

130. [O. Wittman], 'The Morrison Triptych', in *Museum News. The Toledo Museum of Art*, No. 159, Summer 1955. Reprint: 'The Morrison Triptych', in *The Art Quarterly*, XVIII, 1955, pp. 317-319.

131. M. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues...*, p. 122.

132. M. Davies, 'The National Gallery London' (*Les Primitifs Flamands. 1. Corpus de la Peinture des Anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième Siècle*), Vol. I, Antwerp 1953, pp. 1-7.

133. W.R. Valentiner, 'Simon van Herlam...', p. 8.

134. See *Art News*, XLV, 1946, p. 24. Possibly the painting sold at Sotheby's, London, on 17th May 1961, No. 92.

135. W.R. Valentiner, 'Simon van Herlam...', p. 8. See also G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, II, The Hague, 1937, p. 31. Valentiner also mentions a *Christ at the Home of Simon* in the Zurich Kunsthau which supposedly came from the van Coray collection. We could not trace this picture and think it may have been confused with one of the two known paintings showing this subject, Nos. 86 and Suppl. No. 176.

136. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem...', p. 179. The drawing in the P. de Boer collection, shows the same composition as the two figures in the *Virgin Enthroned* by Massys in the Brussels museum (No. 17).

137. L. Reis-Santos, *Obras Primas...*, pp. 19-20.

138. V.N. Volskaja, 'Kartina Niderlandskogo Khudozhnika XV v. v Gosudarstvennom Muzee Izobrazitelnykh Iskusstv im A. S. Puškina', in *Ist. Russ Zapadnoevrop. Iskuss.* (Sb. V. N. Lazarev), 1960, pp. 232-242. See also Jan Bialostocki, 'The Literature of Art. Recent Research: Russia. Early Periods', in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p. 432.

139. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, I, The Hague, 1936, pp. 517-518 and Vol. II, 1937, p. 582.

140. V.N. Volskaja, 'Kartina Niderlandskogo...', pp. 232-242.

141. J. Lavalleye, 'Collections d'Espagne' (*Les Primitifs Flamands. II. Répertoire des Peintures Flamandes des Quinzième et Seizième Siècles*), I, Antwerp, 1953, pp. 32-33.

142. According to F.J. Sanchez-Cantón, *Museo del Prado. Catalogo de los Cuadros*, Madrid, 1963, p. 205, attributed by Friedländer to the Master of Hoogstraeten. See also H. Vollmer (under direction of) *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*,

begründet von U. Thieme und F. Becker, xxxvii. *Meister mit Notnamen*, Leipzig, 1950, p. 159.

143. P. Wescher, 'Beiträge zu Simon von Haarlem...', p. 186.

144. S. Leurs, 'Meester van Hoogstraten: Christus in de Tempel en Sint-Germainuskerk te Tienen', in *Eigen Schoon en de Brabander*, xxxvii, 1954, pp. 54-57.

145. G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, Vol. 3, The Hague, 1938, pp. 19-25.

146. W. R. Valentiner, 'Jan de Vos, the Master of Frankfurt', in *The Art Quarterly*, viii, 1945, pp. 195-215.

147. W. R. Valentiner (p. 207) dates the *Adoration of the Magi* (Antwerp museum, No. 123) on the basis of an identification of three portraits, that is of Frederic III, Maximilian and Philip the Fair. The latter identification, also taken up by A. J. J. Delen, 'Wie was de "Meester van Frankfurt"?', in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, p. 78, is not accepted by M. J. Onghena, *De Iconographie van Philips de Schone*, Brussels, 1959, p. 343.

148. A. J. J. Delen, 'Wie was de "Meester van Frankfurt"?' ..., pp. 74-85.

149. P. Vanaise, 'De Meester van Watervliet en Zijn Nood Gods', in *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique. Bulletin*, ix, 1966, pp. 9-39.

150. The Master of Watervliet may have been the painter of the *Adoration of the Magi* at the Antwerp museum (No. 123), perhaps of the *Archery Fair* (dating from about 1485-1490) in the same museum (No. 164), and of the *Portrait of the Painter and his Wife* (No. 163). Belonging to the same group, but not by the same painter would be a *Triptych of the Passion* (in a French private collection; see Note 164), *Christ Carrying the Cross* (in the Antwerp museum; No. 142) and a *Pietà* (formerly E. Schwarz, New York). The *Adoration of the Magi* in the Vienna museum (No. 124) would be by neither the Master of Frankfurt nor the Master of Watervliet (See P. Vanaise, 'De Meester van Watervliet...', p. 30, Note 1).

151. 'Le Triptyque de la Déploration de l'Eglise de Watervliet', in *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique. Bulletin*, ix, 1966, pp. 9-93.

152. 'De Meester van Watervliet en Zijn Nood Gods', pp. 9-39; 'Materiële Geschiedenis', pp. 54-72.

153. 'Iconographie', pp. 40-53.

154. 'Materiële Beschrijving, Bewaringstoestand en Behandeling', pp. 73-88.

155. 'La restauration', pp. 89-93.

156. I. Stockman, 'Persoonlijke Visie op Bizonderheden Betreffende de Nood Gods van Watervliet', in *Ons Meetjesland*, ii, 1968, No. 2, pp. 7-9.

157. Fr. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes...*, *passim*. Concerns mainly the *Adoration of the Magi*, Antwerp museum (No. 123), the *Adoration of the Magi*, Vienna museum (No. 124), the *Death of the Virgin* from the triptych in the Historisches Museum, Frankfurt (No. 129) and the *Nativity* known in various versions at the Kunsthalle, Hamburg (No. 140), the Valencien-

nes museum (No. 141) and in the R. Lehman collection, New York (Add. No. 204). Of the latter composition Winkler (p. 153, ill. p. 151) mentions a version which had escaped attention, in the Kiev museum, which may be by the Master of Frankfurt.

158. A. Pigler, 'La mouche peinte: un talisman', in *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts*, xxiv, 1964, p. 56.

159. See Note 157 for the *Nativity* in the Kiev museum, published by Fr. Winkler.

160. Exhibited in Madrid in 1892. D. A[ngulo] I[ñiguez], 'Un Tríptico del Maestro de Frankfurt', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, lxvi, 1944, pp. 392-394.

161. M. A. Libman, 'Kartina "Mastera iz Frankfurta" v Muzei Izobrazitel'skikh Iskusstv Im. A. S. Puchkina', in *Soovchenia Gosydarstvennogo Muzeia Izobrazitel'skikh Iskusstv Imeni A. S. Puchkina*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 29-35. See also R. D[e] R[oo], in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, lxxv, 1961, p. 192. C. Pantens, in 'Etude de Trois Tableaux du xvie Siècle Illustrant le Siège de Malines par le Duc Jean II de Brabant en 1303', in *Hommage au Professeur Paul Bonenfant*, Brussels, 1965, pp. 547-561, accepts the attribution, but P. Vanaise, 'De Meester van Watervliet...', p. 24 rejects it.

162. The painting was sold later at Christie's in London, on 26th June 1959, No. 34 and on 24th November 1961, No. 132. Fr. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes...*, p. 296, P. Vanaise, 'De Meester van Watervliet...', pp. 26-27 and N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'Iconographie...', pp. 43-44, do not accept this attribution. The latter author, in 'The Arenberg "Lamentation" in the Detroit Institute of Arts', in *The Art Quarterly*, xxv, 1962, p. 304, dates the painting about 1525-1530.

163. All these works are in American collections. According to W. R. Valentiner, 'Jan de Vos, the Master of Frankfurt...', p. 212, the *Adoration of the Magi* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Inv. 71.100), listed by Friedländer (Vol. iv, No. 22a) as a possible replica of a lost picture by Hugo van der Goes, may be by the Master of Frankfurt.

164. E. Dhanens, in 'Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen. Tweede Aflevering: Kanton Kaprijke', in *Cultureel Jaarboek van de Provincie Oostvlaanderen*, 1953, iii, Ghent, 1956, p. 130, describes it as a replica after the Watervliet triptych (Add. No. 202). See also Note 150. N. Veronee-Verhaegen, 'Iconographie...', p. 43, Note 5 and p. 46, sees in it a copy after the Master of Frankfurt.

165. G. Carandente, 'Collections d'Italie. 1. Sicile' (*Les Primitifs Flamands. II. Répertoire des Primitifs Flamands du Quinzième Siècle*, 3), Brussels, 1968, p. 25, No. 14. The same composition as the painting in the Ghent museum (No. 151).

166. J. Bialostocki, 'Les Musées de Pologne (Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa)', (*Les Primitifs Flamands. I. Corpus...* 9), Brussels, 1966, pp. 124-128, No. 121, as 'entourage du Maître de Francfort'.

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Q.M. = Quentin Massys

F. = Follower

C. = Copy

M.M.T. = Master of the Morrison Triptych

M.M.M. = Master of the Mansi Magdalene

M.H. = Master of Hoogstraeten

M.F. = Master of Frankfurt

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Plate
I



1. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



I
—
1 b | 1 b

1. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 1 b.
Q. Massys, Copy. Heads of two Women from the Central Panel of the Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Formerly Vienna, Figdor Collection*



1. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



2. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred, Centrepiece. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



2. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred, Centrepiece. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



2. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred, Shutters : the Annunciation to Joachim and the Death of St. Anne. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



2. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred, Outer Shutters. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



3. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Trinity with Virgin. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)

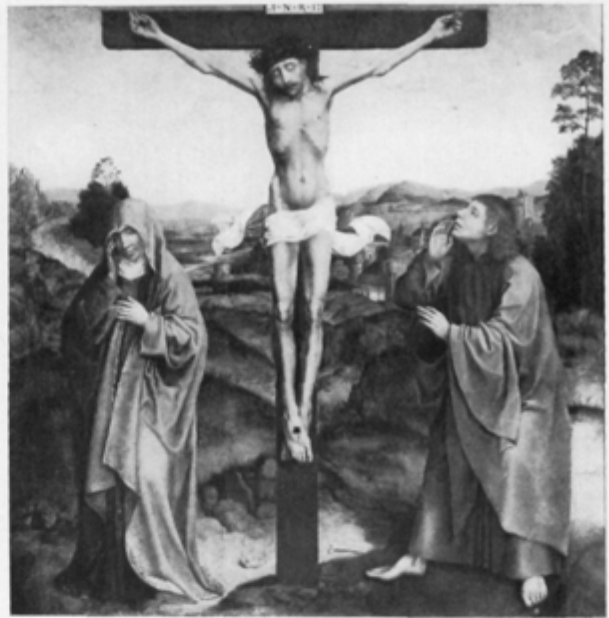


4. Q. Massys. Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, Centrepiece, Mater Dolorosa. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



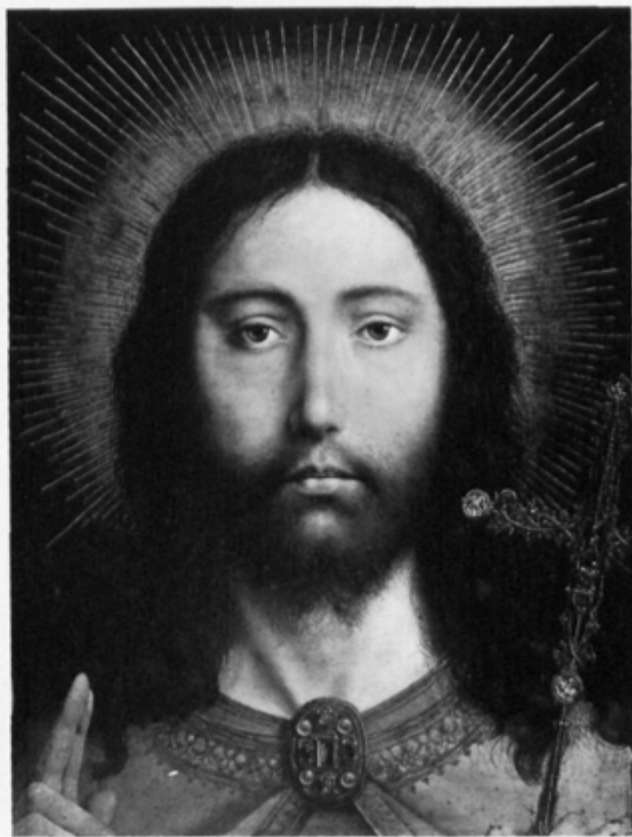
4 A	4 B
4	

Q. Massys. Three panels from an Altarpiece of the Seven Sorrows of Mary: 4 A. Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum. 4 B. The Presentation in the Temple. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga. 4. Jesus among the Doctors. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga



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5 | 5
5a | 5a | 5b

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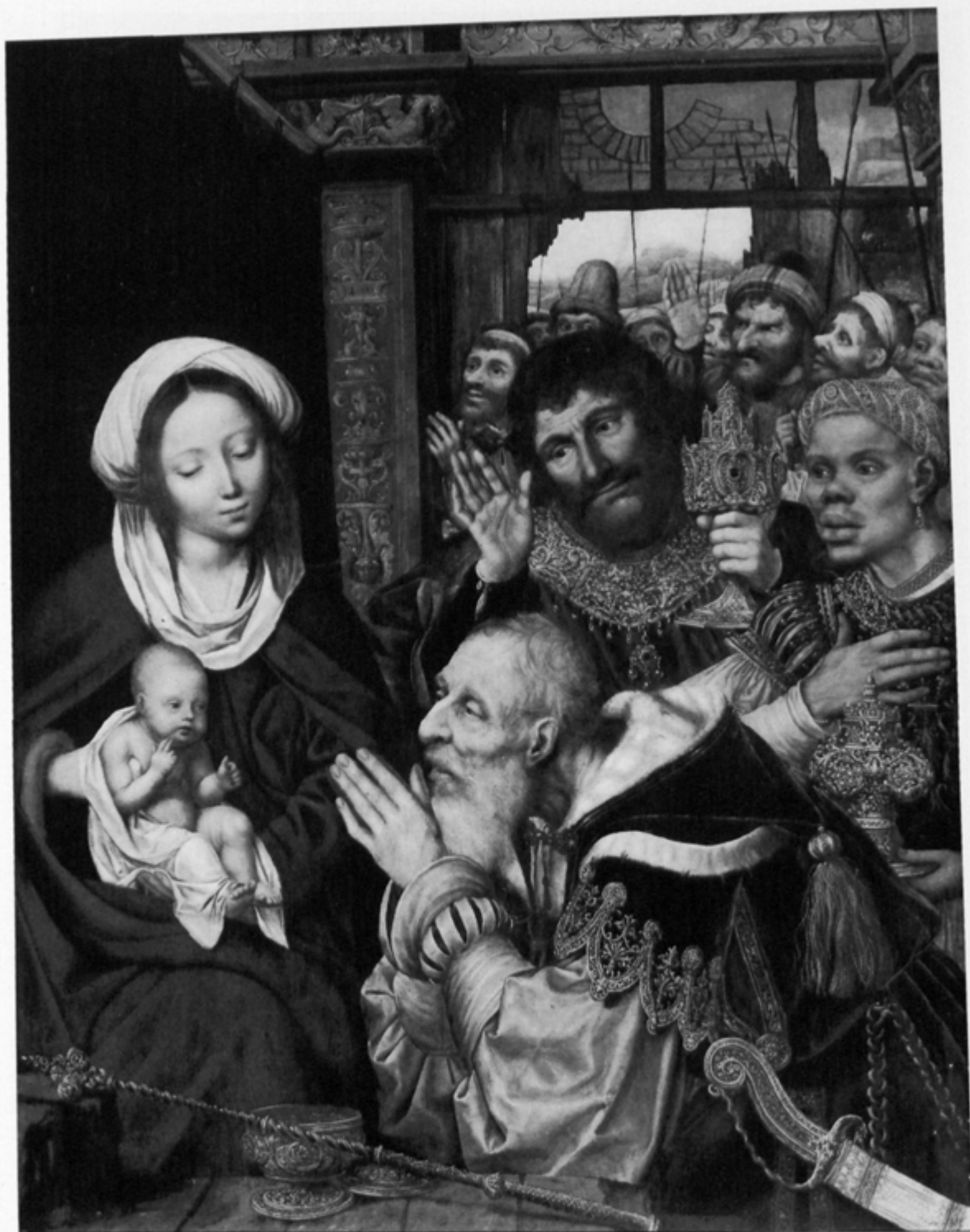
6 | 6
5 c | 6

6. Q. Massys. A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Evangelist; St. Agnes. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum.
5 c. Q. Massys, Replica. Virgin at Prayer. London, Art Market, 1909. Present Location unknown

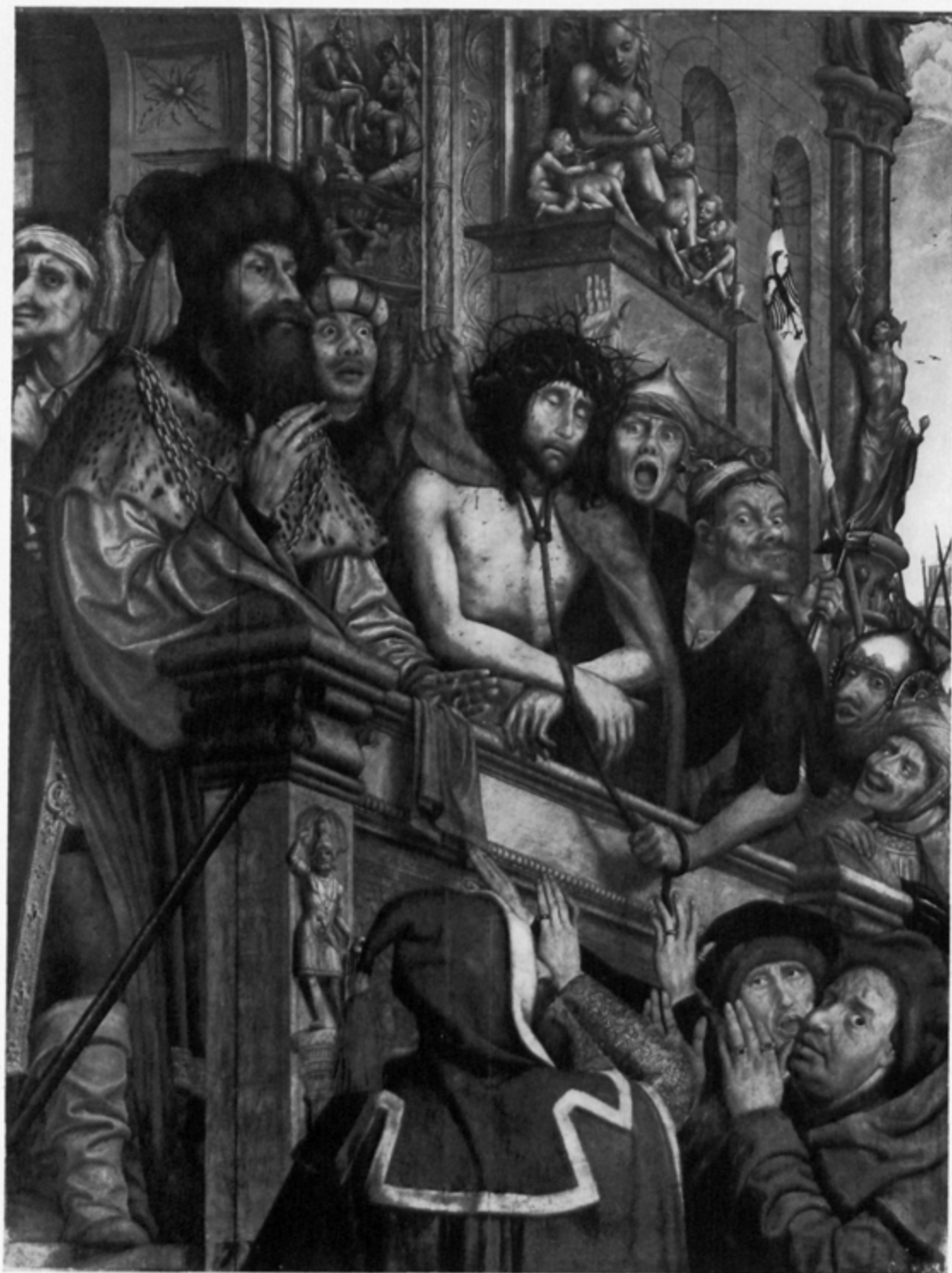


$\frac{7}{9} \mid \frac{7}{9}$

7. Q. Massys. A Pair of Shutters with Two Holy Female Penitents: Magdalene; The Egyptian Mary. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 9. Q. Massys. The Presentation in the Temple. Formerly Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection



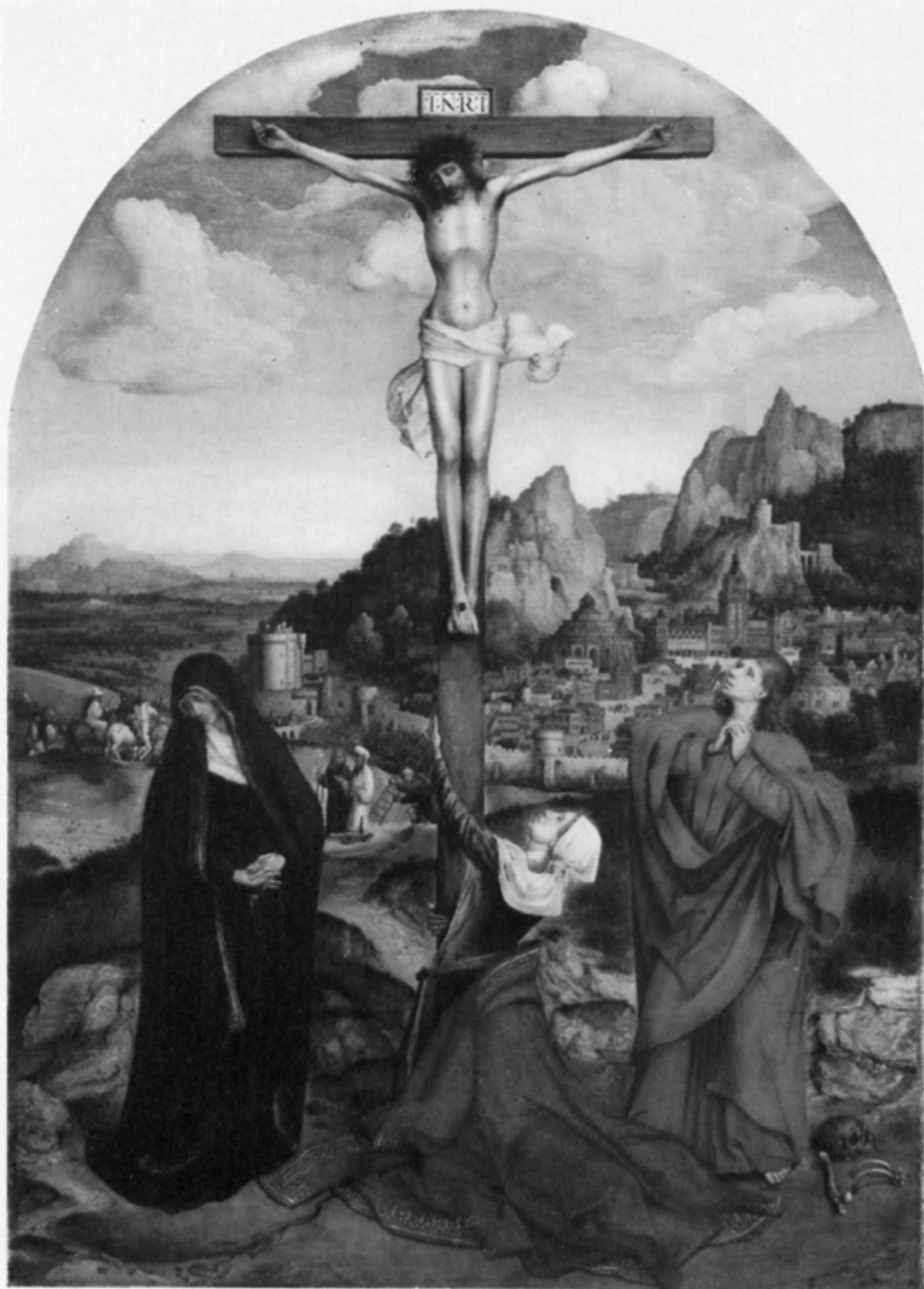
8. Q. Massys. Adoration of Magi. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



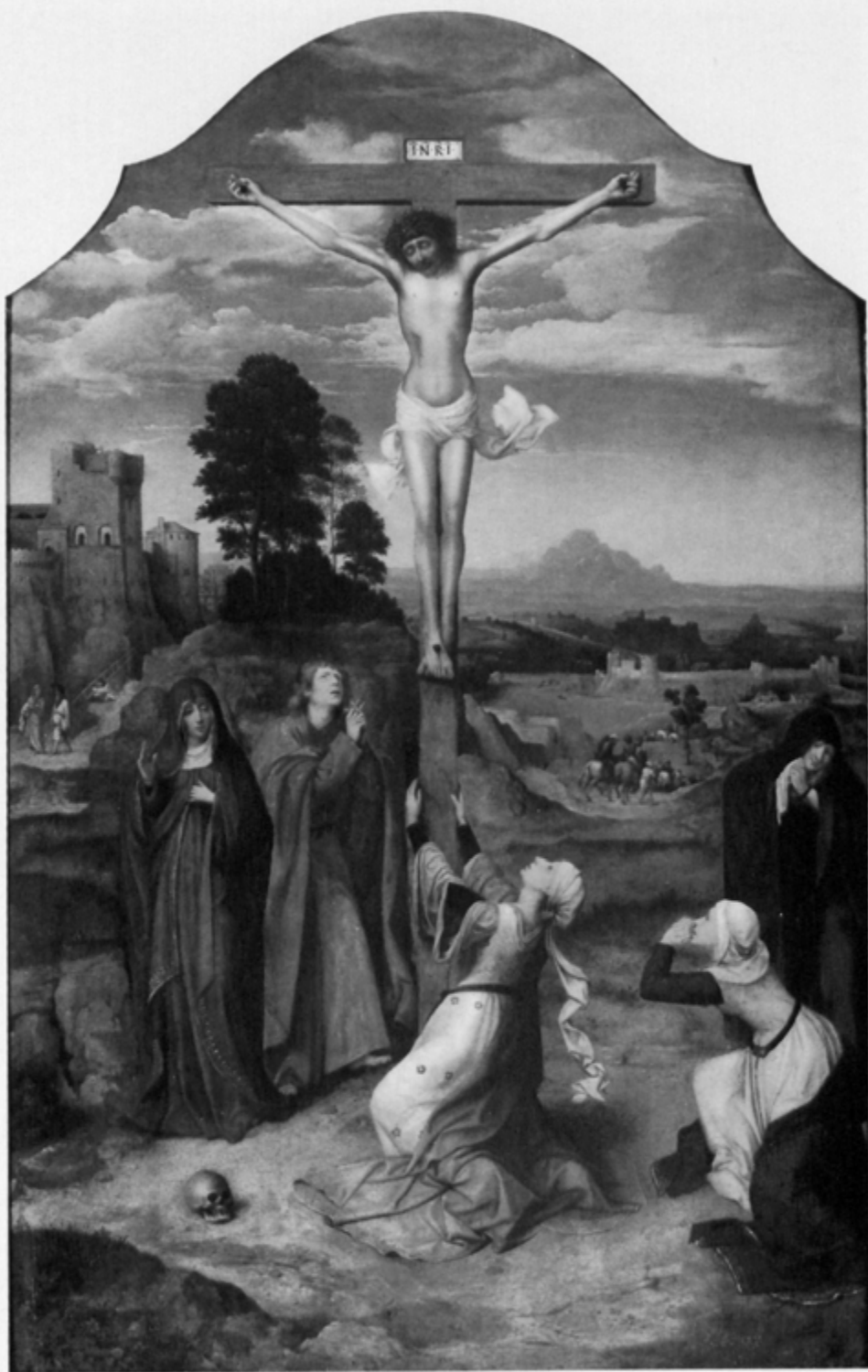
10. Q. Massys. *Christ Shown to the People*. Madrid, Museo del Prado



11. Q. Massys. Christ Shown to the People. Venice, Palazzo Ducale



12. Q. Massys. The Crucifixion. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada



13. Q. Massys. *The Crucifixion*. London, National Gallery



15
(15)

15. Q. Massys and W. Key. *Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Munich, *Alte Pinakothek* (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen). (15) Q. Massys, Copy. *Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*





17. Q. Massys. *Virgin Enthroned*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



18 $\frac{18a}{18b}$

18. Q. Massys, *Virgin Enthroned*. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 18 a. Q. Massys, Copy. *Virgin Enthroned*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 18 b. Q. Massys, Copy. *Virgin Enthroned*. Antwerp, *Church of St. James*



19. Q. Massys. *Virgin and Child*. Poznan, Museum (*Raczynski Collection*)



20	21
20 a	

20. Q. Massys. *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 21. Q. Massys. *Virgin and Child*. Formerly Paris, *Aynard Auction*, 1913. 20 a. Q. Massys, Replica. *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



23. Q. Massys. *Virgin and Child*. *Detroit, Institute of Arts (J.E. Scripps Collection)*



23 a	23 c
22	

23 a. Q. Massys, Replica. Virgin and Child. *Kreuzlingen, Heinz Kisters Collection*. 23 c. Q. Massys, Copy. Virgin and Child. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*. 22. Q. Massys. Virgin and Child. *Formerly Paris, Warneck Auction, 1926*



24. Q. Massys. *Virgin and Child*. Paris, *Musée du Louvre*



25. Q. Massys. *Virgin Enthroned, with Angels*. London, *National Gallery*



26 | 26 a

26. Q. Massys. *Virgin Enthroned with Two Angels*. *Present location unknown*. 26 a. Q. Massys. *Replica. Virgin Enthroned*. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*



27. Q. Massys. Triptych: Virgin Standing, with Angels. Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts



27 | Suppl. 166

27. Q. Massys. Central Panel, Virgin Standing with Angels. Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Suppl. 166. Q. Massys. Virgin Standing Outdoors. Switzerland, Private Collection

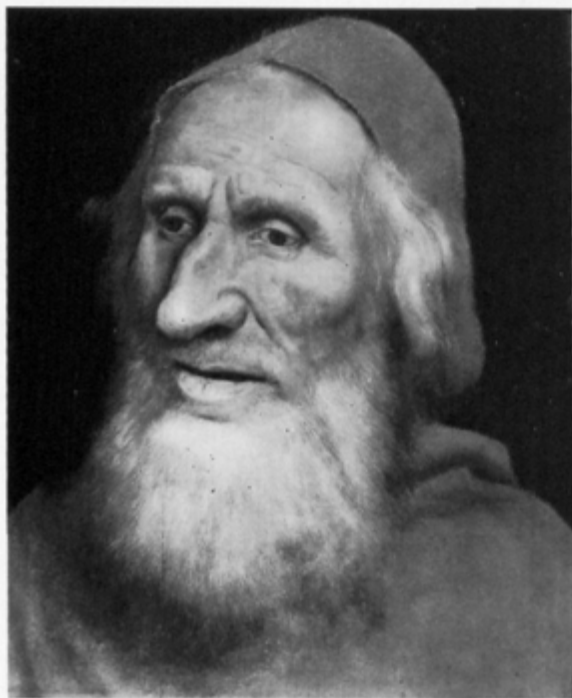


Suppl. 165. Q. Massys. *Virgin Standing with Angels*. London, Count A. Seilern Collection



28. Q. Massys. *The Betrothal of St. Catherine*. London, *National Gallery*. 29. Q. Massys. *Jesus and John as Boys, Kissing*. *Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection*





30 | 33

30. Q. Massys. Head of St. Anthony (?). *Barcelona, Palacio de la Virreina.* 33. Q. Massys. St. Jerome, at Half-Length. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



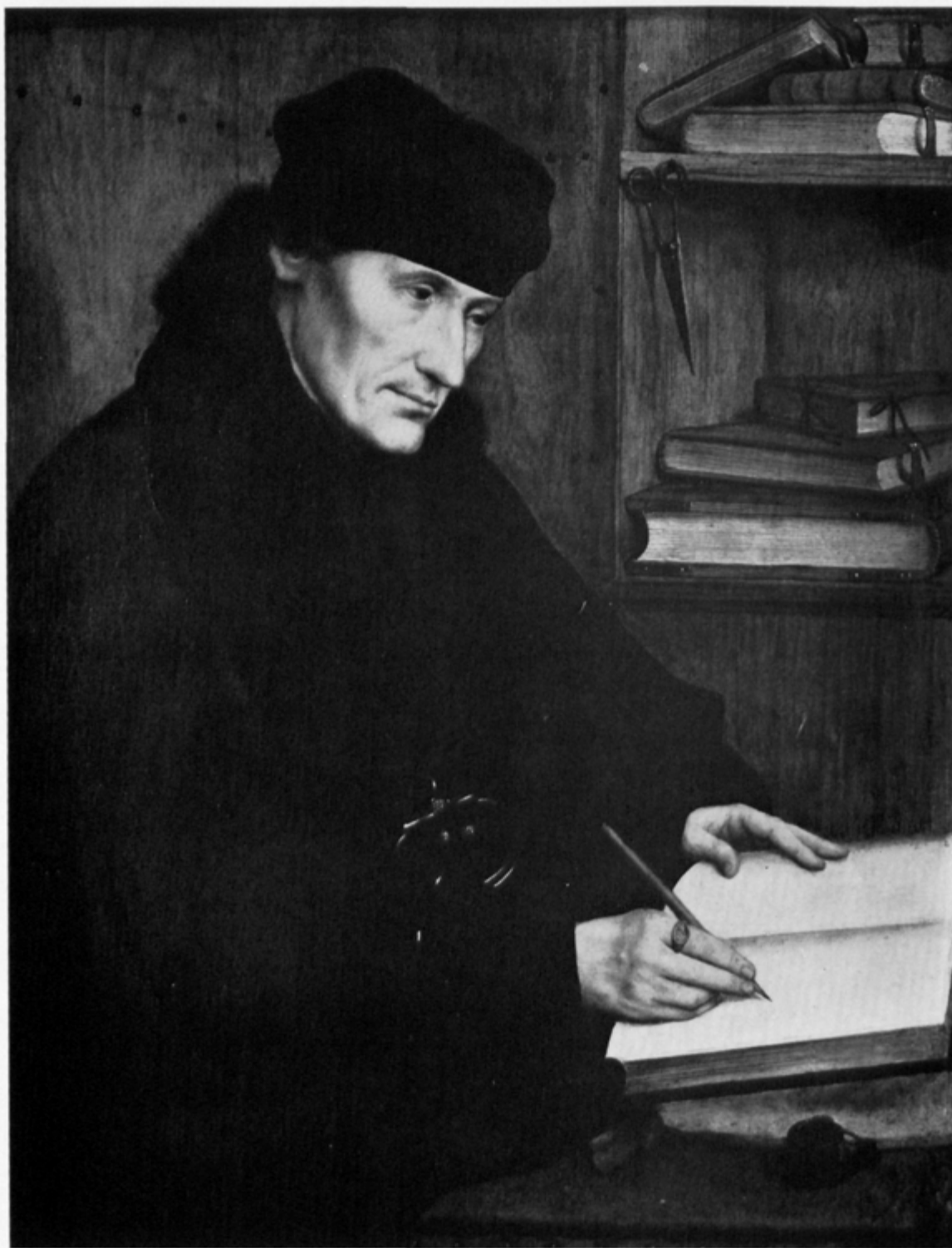
32. Q. Massys. St. Christopher. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



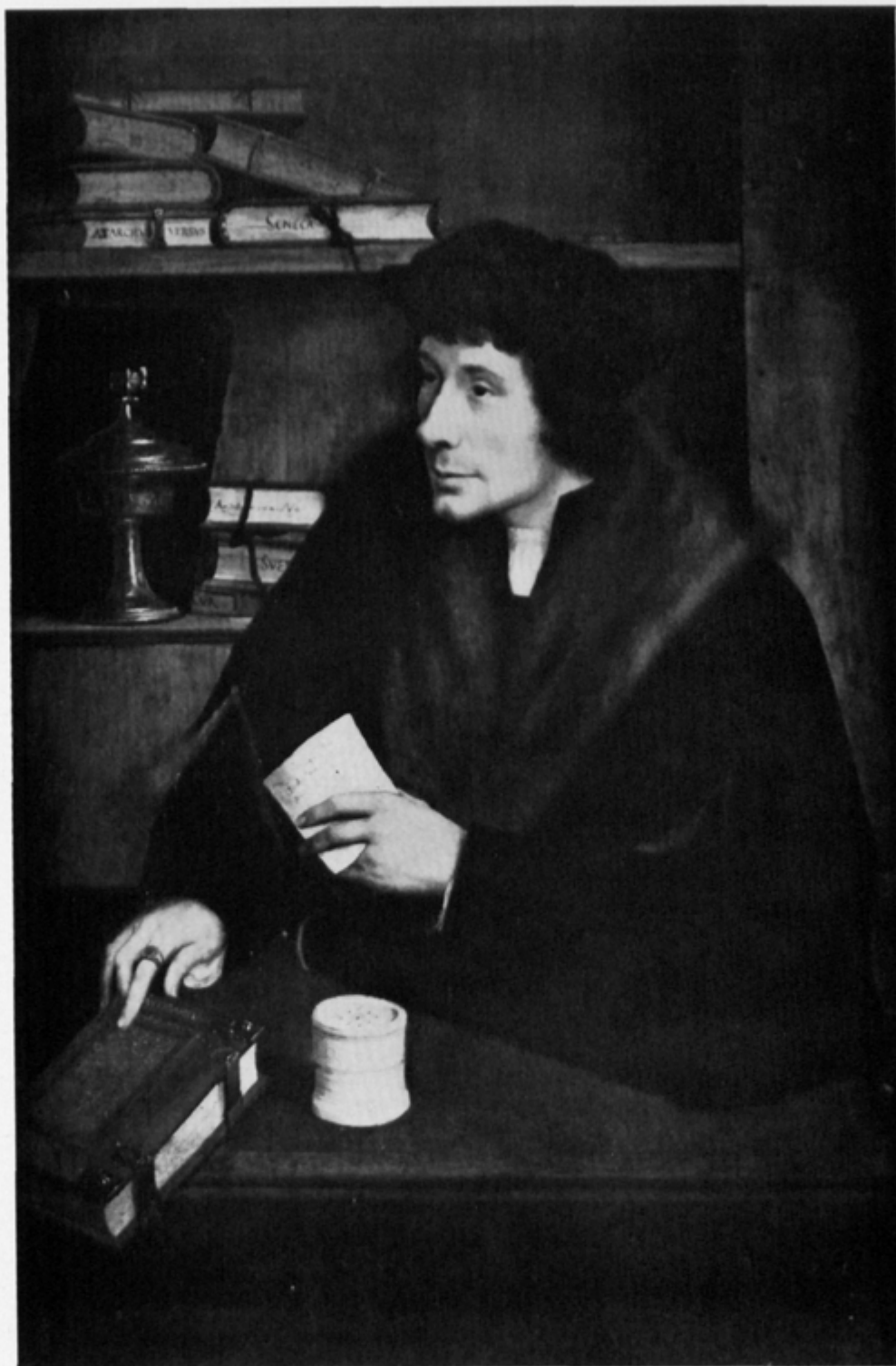
34. Q. Massys. Grieving Magdalene. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



35. Q. Massys. *Magdalene*. Antwerp, Koninlijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



36. Q. Massys. Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus. *Rome, Palazzo Barberini*



37. Q. Massys. Portrait of Peter Giles (Petrus Aegidius). *Longford Castle, Lord Radnor Collection*



36a | 37a
36c | 37b

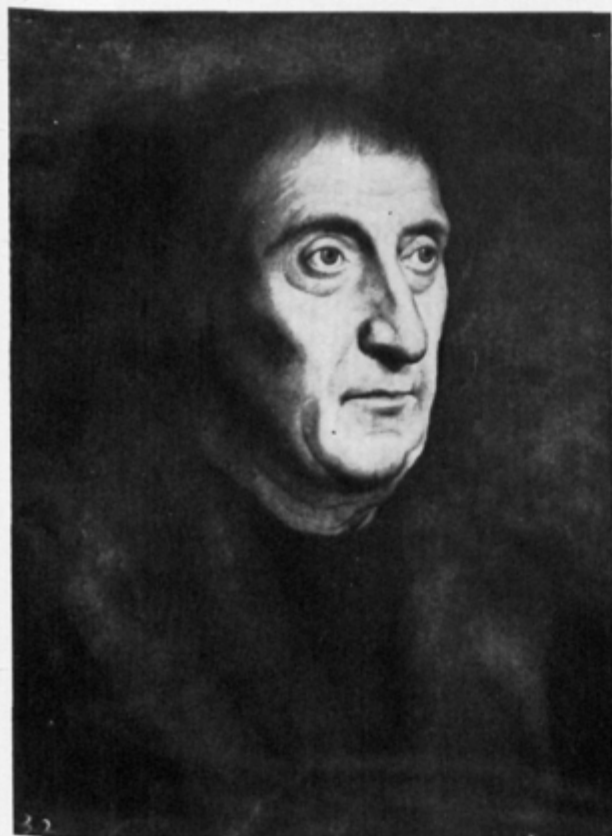
36 a. Q. Massys, Copy. Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*. 37 a. Q. Massys, Replica. Portrait of Peter Giles (Petrus Aegidius). *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 36 c. Q. Massys, Copy. Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus. *Huntington Bay, New York, Alfred A. Azzoni Collection*. 37 b. Q. Massys, Replica. Portrait of Peter Giles (Petrus Aegidius). *Formerly Paris, Sedelmeyer Auction, 1907*



38. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. Winterthur, Reinhart Collection

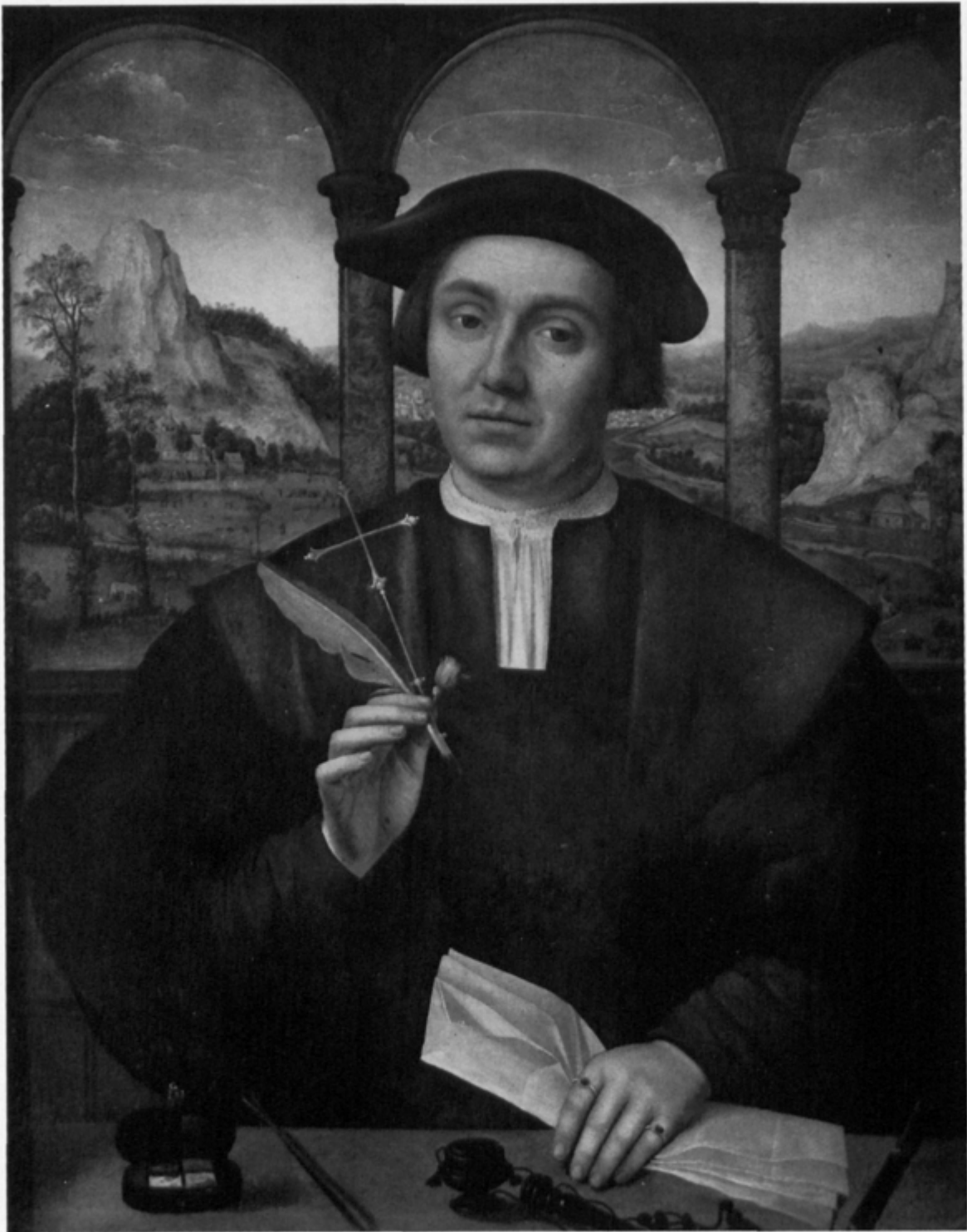


39. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Canon. *Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection*

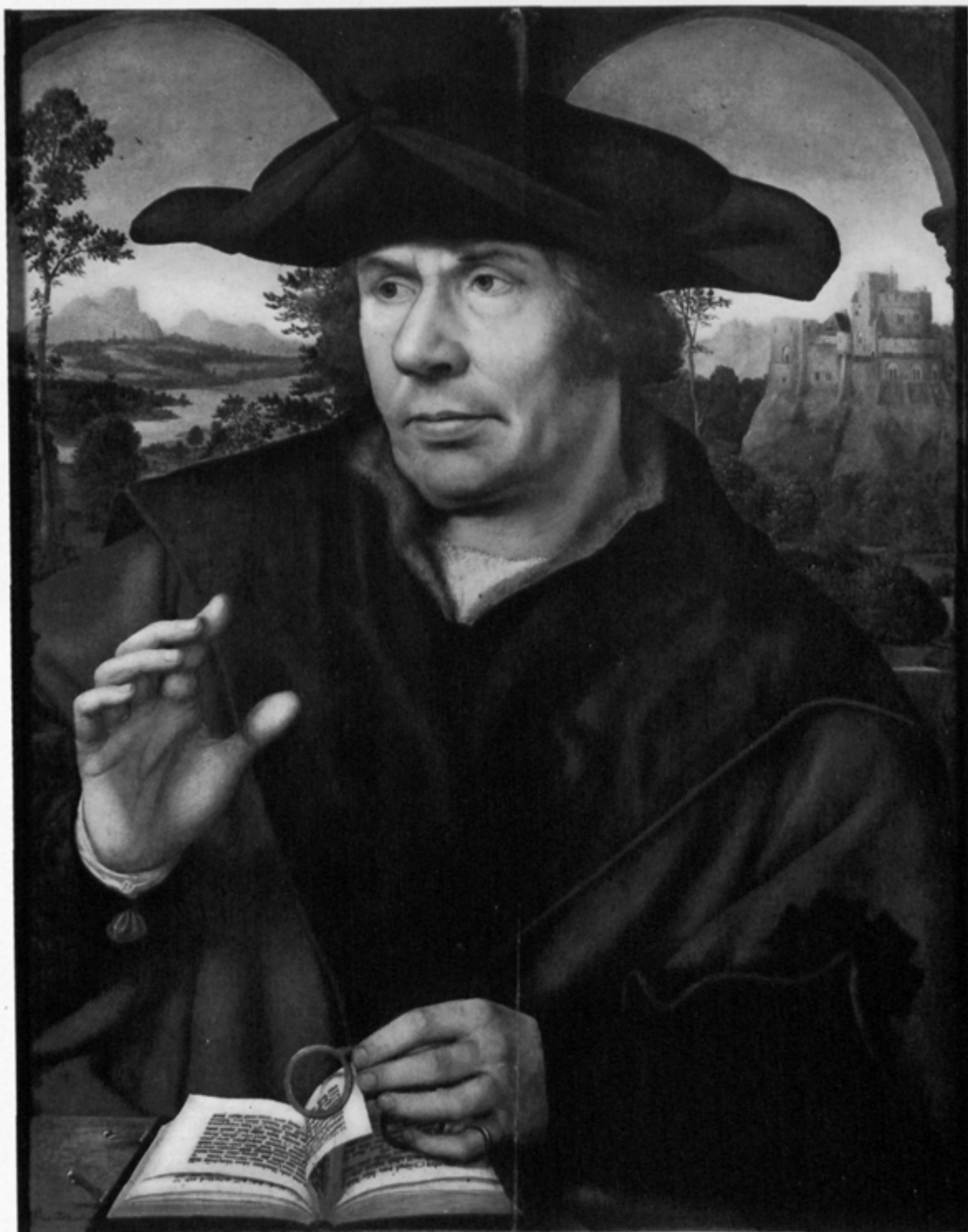


40 | 44 | 42
43 | 41

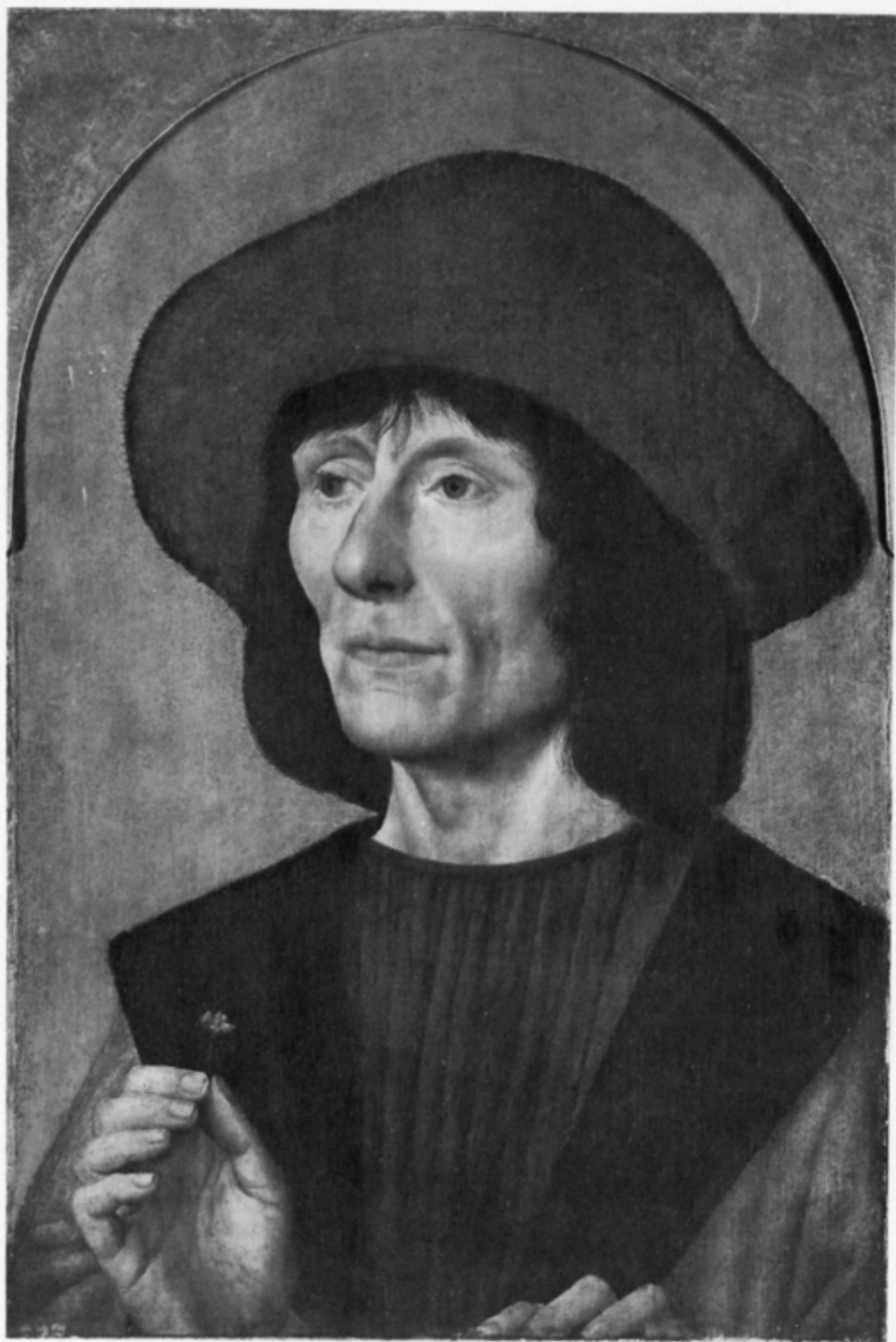
40. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. Formerly Berlin, Hahn Collection. 44. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. Formerly New York, Oppenheimer Collection. 42. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Knight. Formerly Montreal, Sevenoaks, Lord Amherst Collection. 43. Q. Massys. Portrait of an Elderly Man. New York, Parke-Bernet Auction, 1951. 41. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



45. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. *Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland*



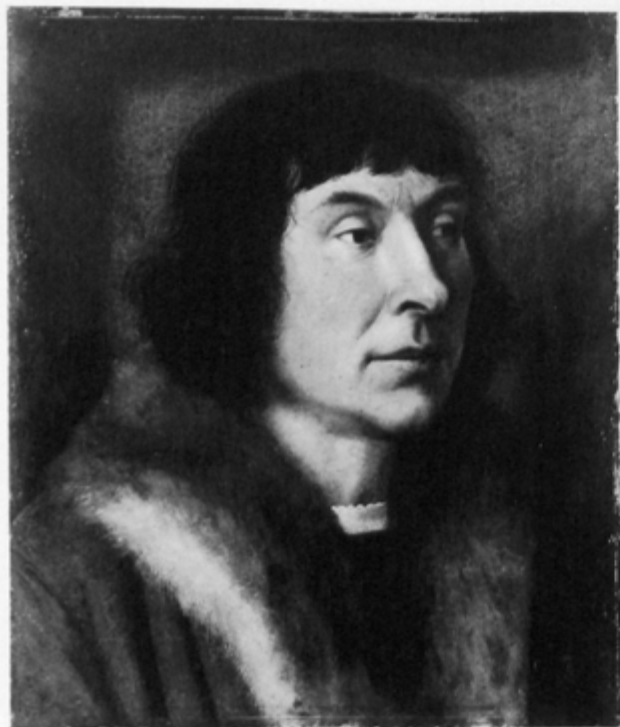
46. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. Frankfurt, Städelches Kunstinstitut



47. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. *Chicago, Art Institute*



Suppl. 169. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. *Schloss Au* (Switzerland), Mrs. H. von Schulthess-Bodmer Collection.
48. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Woman. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art





53. Q. Massys. *The Banker and His Wife*. Paris, Musée du Louvre

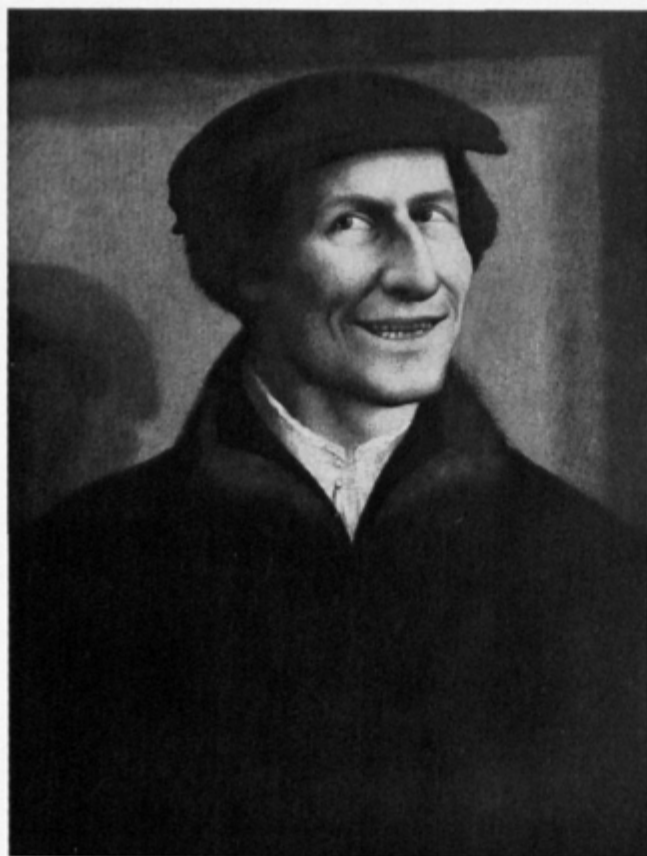


52
A

52. Q. Massys. Portrait of an Ugly Woman. London, National Gallery.
A. Engraving by W. Hollar, after a Leonardo drawing. Brussels,
Bibliothèque Royale



51. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Cleanshaven Old Man. *Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André*



55. Q. Massys. *The Laughing Man*. Amsterdam, *Art Market*, P. de Boer, 1930.

54. Q. Massys. *The Ill-Matched Lovers*. Formerly Paris, Countess Pourtalès Collection.



56. Q. Massys, Workshop. Altarpiece: The Crucifixion. Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum



57. Q. Massys, Workshop. Altarpiece: Christ on the Cross. *Schloss Rohrauf, Graf Harrachsche Familiensammlung*



Plate
57

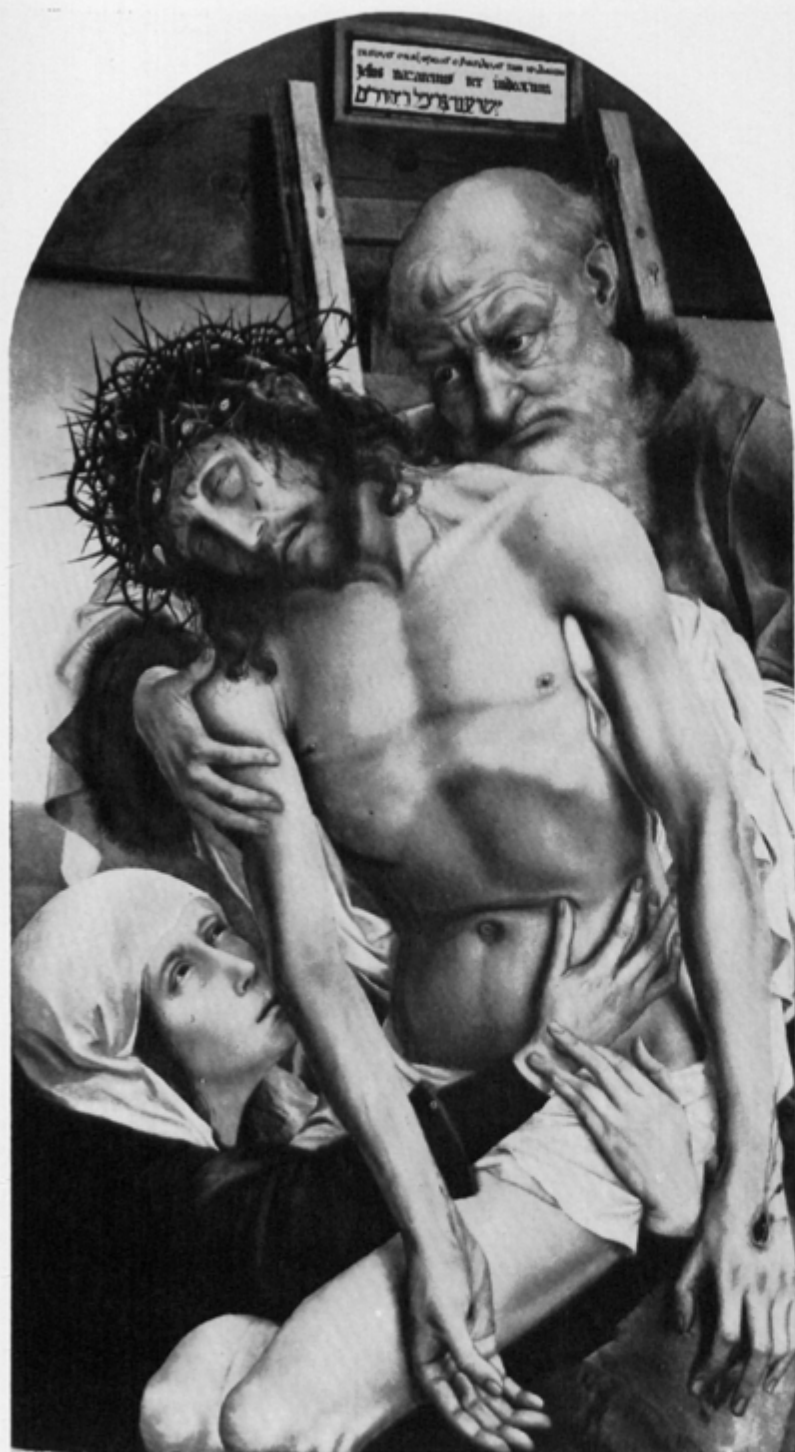


58. Q. Massys, Workshop. Altarpiece: Christ on the Cross. *Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



59	59 a
	59 e

59. Q. Massys, follower. Adoration of the Magi. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum. 59 a. After Q. Massys. Adoration of the Magi. St. Louis, Missouri, City Art Museum of St. Louis. 59 e. After Q. Massys. Adoration of the Magi. Lübeck, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte.

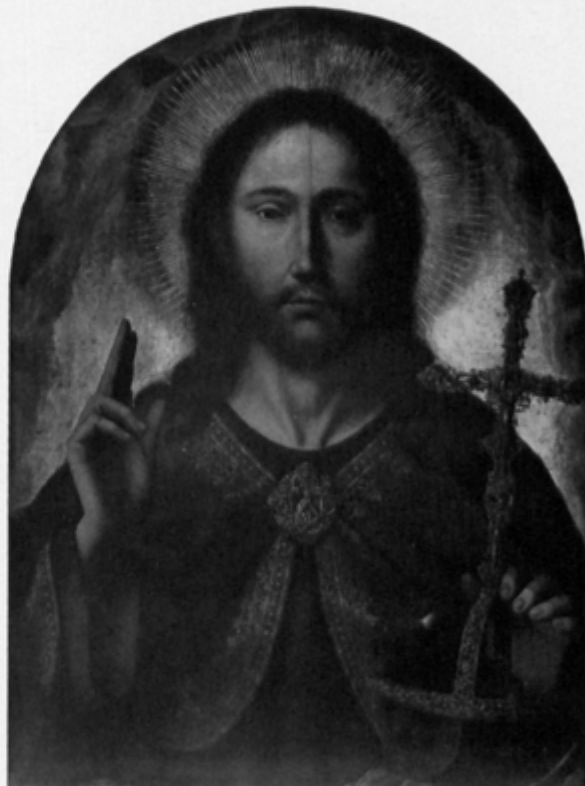




63. Q. Massys, Follower. The Seven Sorrows of Mary. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



Plate
61



62

64 | 65

62. Q. Massys. *The Lamentation*. Ottawa, *National Gallery of Canada*. 64. Q. Massys, Follower. *Pietà*. Antwerp, *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 65. Q. Massys, Follower. *Christ Giving the Blessing*. Aachen, *Suermondt-Museum*

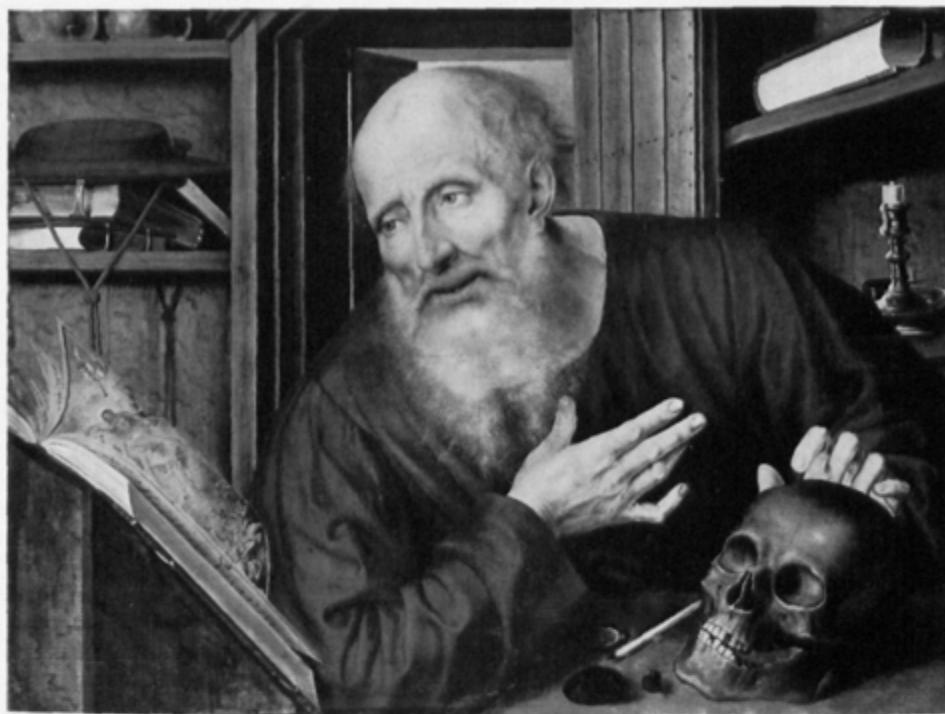


66	67
68	68a

66. Q. Massys, Follower. *Virgin and Child*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. 67. Q. Massys (?). *Virgin and Child*. The Hague, Mauritshuis (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). 68. Q. Massys (?). *Virgin and Child*. Schleissheim (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich). 68 a. Q. Massys, Copy. *Virgin and Child*. London, Wildenstein Gallery (1946)



69. Q. Massys, Follower. *Virgin with the Child Sleeping on Her Breast*. Basle, Kunstmuseum, Burckhardt-Bachhoven Collection



70. Q. Massys (Jan Massys ?). St. Jerome. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. 72. Q. Massys, Follower. St. Isabella. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



71 | 73
74 |

71. Q. Massys, Follower. St. John the Evangelist. *Padua, Museo Civico*. 73. Q. Massys, Copy. St. Catherine Enthroned. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*. 74. Q. Massys, Workshop. Magdalene reading. *Madrid, Traumann Collection*



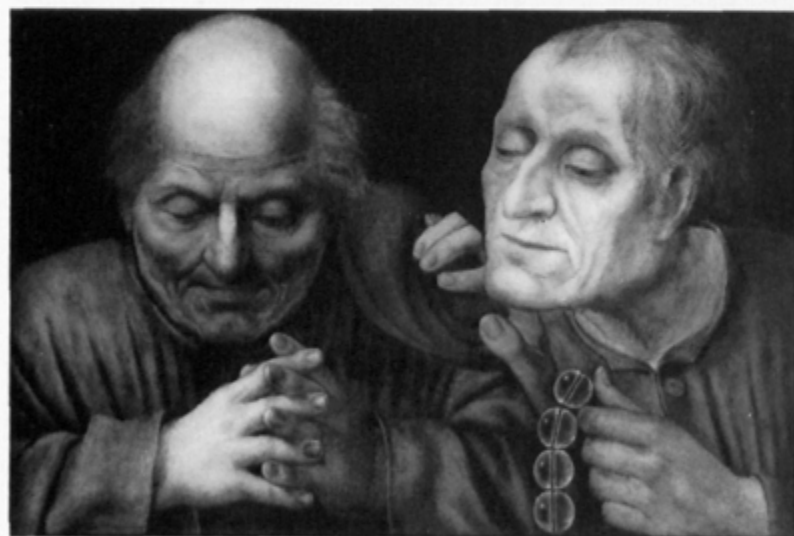
75 | $\frac{76}{77}$

75. Q. Massys (?). Portrait of a Donor. London, National Gallery. 76. Q. Massys (?). Portrait of a Man. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen. 77. Q. Massys (?). Portrait of a Bearded Man. Amsterdam, Wetzlar Collection



78 | 78 a

78. Q. Massys, Copy. The So-Called Paracelsus. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*. 78 a. P. P. Rubens. After Q. Massys. The So-Called Paracelsus. *Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



79
80 | 80 a

79. Q. Massys, Follower (Jan Massys). *Bargain over a Chicken*. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (Albertinum). 80. Circle of Q. Massys. *Two Monks at Prayer*. Rome, Palazzo Doria. 80 a. Q. Massys, Copy. *Two Monks at Prayer*. Schleissheim (Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)



81. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Altarpiece (The Morrison Triptych). Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art



81. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Altarpiece (The Morrison Triptych), Centre-piece. Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art



82. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Altarpiece: Adoration of the Magi. *Sarragossa, Belchite Seminary*



83. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Altarpiece : Virgin with Saints and Angels. *London, National Gallery.* (83). Master of the Morrison Triptych, Copy. Altarpiece : Virgin with Saints and Angels. *El Escorial, Real Monasterio*



83. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Altarpiece, Centrepiece: Virgin with Saints and Angels. London, National Gallery





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87 | 85
| 88

87. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Adoration of the Magi. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 85. Master of the Morrison Triptych (?). Saints Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate. Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. 88. Master of the Morrison Triptych (?). Virgin and Child. Kreuzlingen, Heinz Kisters Collection



89		90
89b		90a

89. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Magdalene. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 90. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Adam and Eve. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 89 b. Master of the Mansi Magdalene, Copy. Magdalene. Formerly, London, Sotheby's, James Man Auction, 1929. 90 a. Master of the Mansi Magdalene, Copy. Adam and Eve. Formerly Genoa, Private Collection



92
91 | (91)

92. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. The Entombment. Ghent, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*. 91. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. The Lamentation. Formerly Bonn, *Virnich Collection*. (91). Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Two Heads. Berlin-Dahlem, *Kupferstichkabinett*



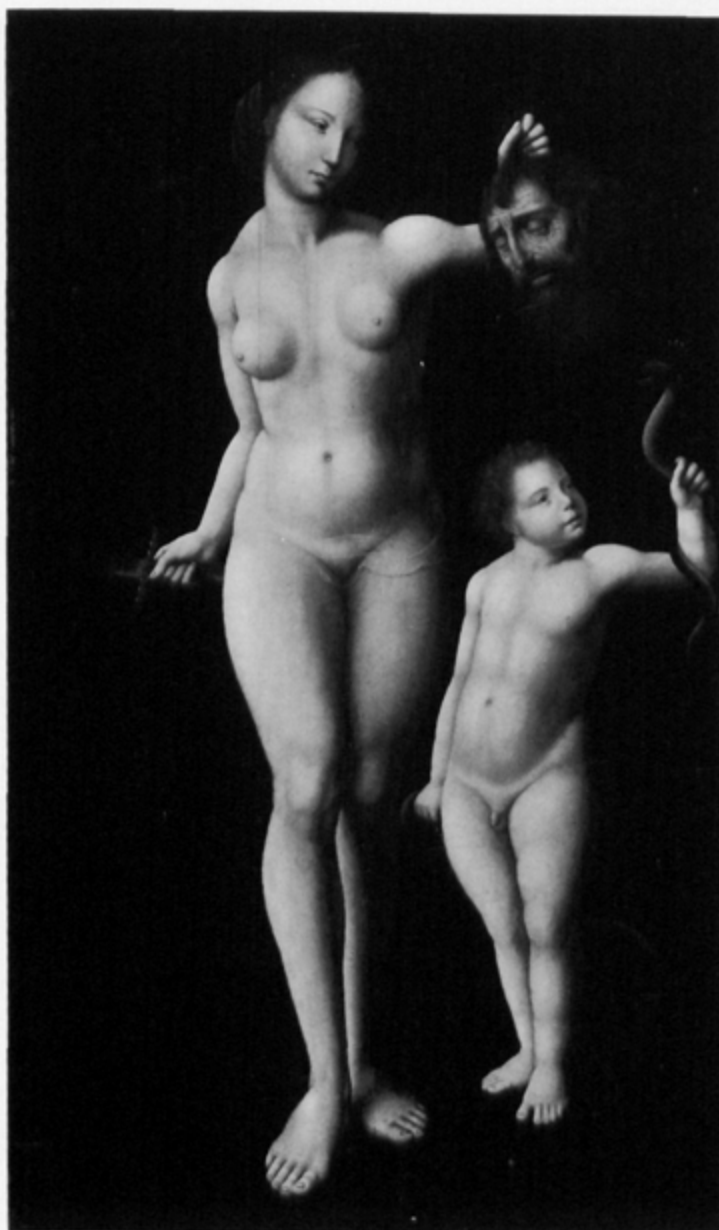
93	94
95	96

93. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. *The Saviour*. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 94. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. *Virgin and Child*. New York, Metropolitan Museum. 95. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. *Virgin and Child*. Formerly Berlin, Paul Graupe Auction, 1935. 96. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. *Virgin and Child*. Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection



99 | $\frac{97}{98}$

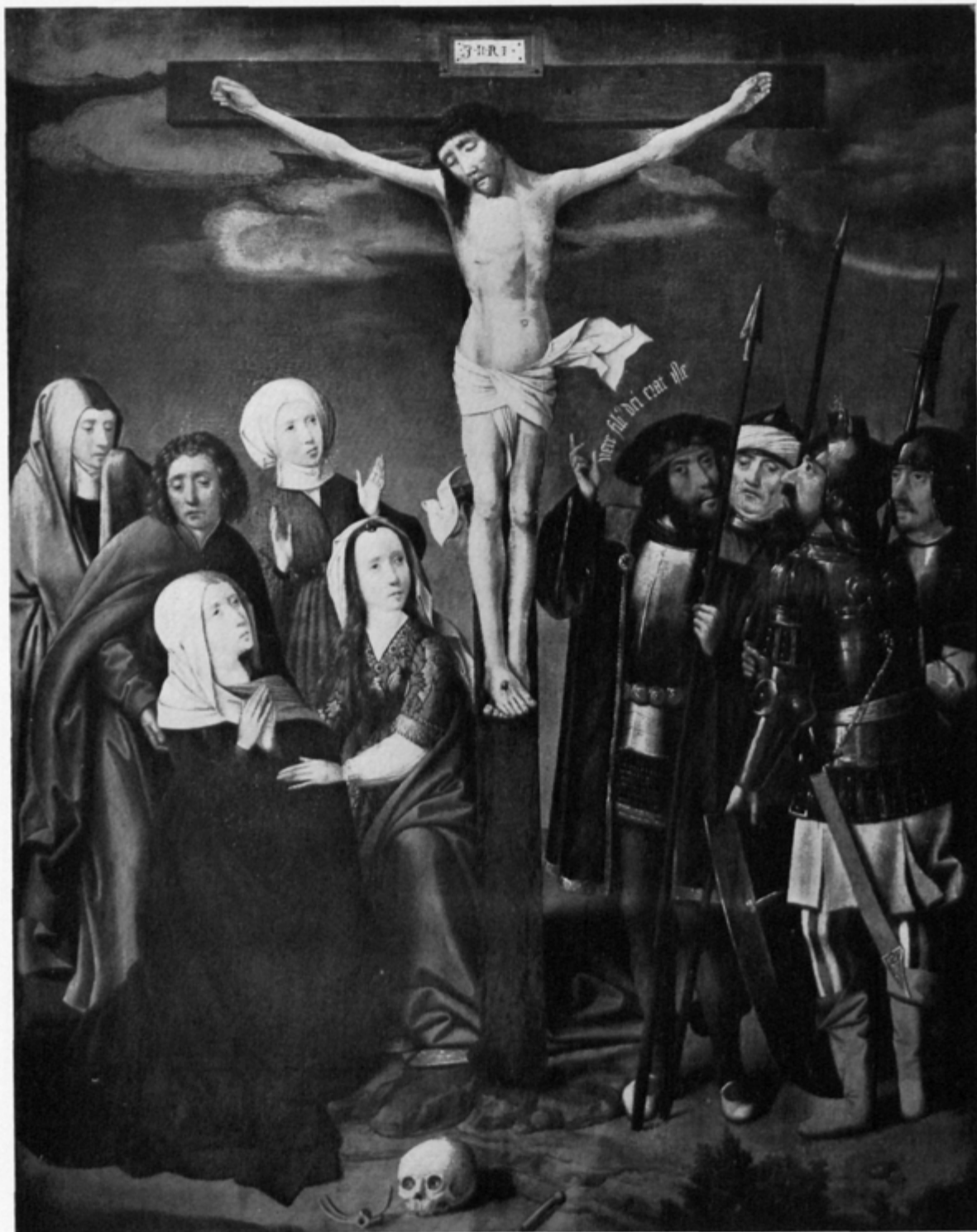
99. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Brussels, Private Collection. 97. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Holy Family Outdoors. New York, Parke-Bernet Auction, 1943. 98. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Holy Family. Paris, E. Gavet Auction, 1897



100	102
101	

100. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Magdalene. *Maestricht, Bonnefantenmuseum*. 102. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Judith and the Boy Hercules. *London, National Gallery*. 101. Master of the Mansi Magdalene (?). Magdalene. *Dessau, Staatlich Kunstsammlungen und Museum*





103. Master of Hoogstraeten. The Hoogstraeten Altarpiece: Christ on the Cross with Soldiers and Mourners.
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



103. Master of Hoogstraeten. The Hoogstraeten Altarpiece, Two Shutters: Presentation in the Temple; Donatrix with St. Oda. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



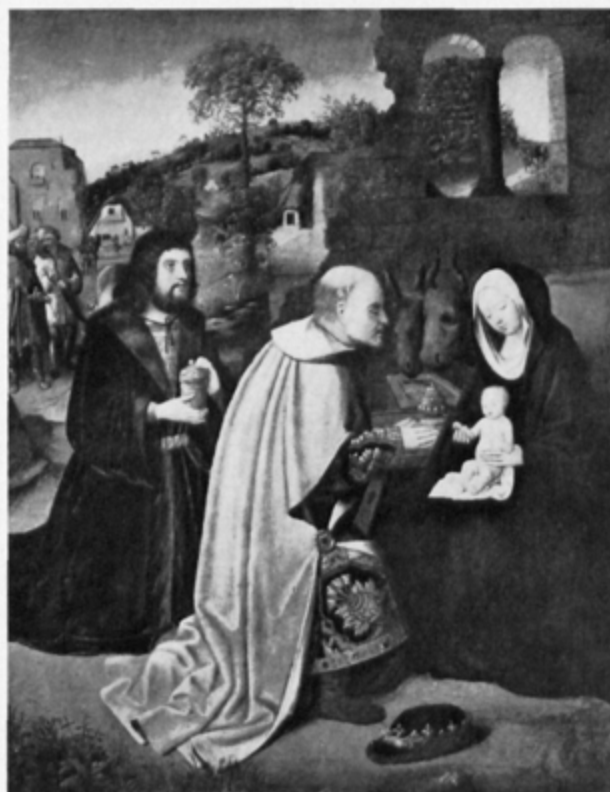
104
105

104. Master of Hoogstraeten. Altarpiece, Adoration of Magi. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum.*
105. Master of Hoogstraeten. Altarpiece: Adoration of the Magi. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection*



106
107 | 108

106. Master of Hoogstraeten. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece and Right Shutter. *Savona, Chiesa di S. Giovanni*; Left Shutter, *Stuttgart, Paul Ackermann Collection*. 107. Master of Hoogstraeten. A Pair of Shutters : Christ Carrying the Cross; The Resurrection. *Formerly Berlin, Art Market, 1920*. 108. Master of Hoogstraeten. A Pair of Shutters : St. John the Baptist; St. Jerome. *Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum*



109. Master of Hoogstraeten. The Nativity. Formerly Berlin, Wertheim, Cremer Auction, 1929. 111. Master of Hoogstraeten. Adoration of the Magi. Formerly New York, Weitzner Gallery. 110. Master of Hoogstraeten. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. Formerly Amsterdam, Art Market, P. de Boer, about 1933; The two Shutters, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts



112	113
114	115

112. Master of Hoogstraeten. Presentation in the Temple. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 113. Master of Hoogstraeten. Taking of Christ. London, Buckingham Palace. 114. Master of Hoogstraeten. Christ Shown to the People. Formerly Northwick Park, Spencer Churchill Collection. 115. Master of Hoogstraeten. Christ on the Cross. Formerly Berlin, Art Market, Rochlitz, 1929



116	117
118	118 a

116. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin Seated Outdoors*. Frankfurt, Auction, 1928. 117. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 118. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin Enthroned*. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. 118 a. Master of Hoogstraeten, Copy. *Virgin Enthroned*. London, *Buckingham Palace*



119. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin Enthroned*. Florence, *Uffizi*. 120. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin Seated Outdoors*. Formerly London, *Art Market*, T. Harris, 1937. 121. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Holy Family*. Formerly Munich, *Art Market*, Böhler, 1929. 121 a. Master of Hoogstraeten, Copy. *Holy Family*. Formerly Paris, *Dollfus Auction*, 1912

119	120
121	121a



122 | (122)

122. Master of Hoogstraeten. Virgin and Child with St. Catherine. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection.*
(122) J. Gossaert (?). Virgin and Child with St. Catherine. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle*



Plate
91



123. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



124. Master of Frankfurt (?). Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*



125. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Formerly Amsterdam, Art Market, P. de Boer, 1938*



125 a. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. 125 b. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Camden, New Jersey, Dr. William S. Serri Collection (1954)



125 c. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Altarpiece of the Adoration of Magi. Copenhagen, National Museum. 125 d. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Guadalupe (Caceres), Convent Church



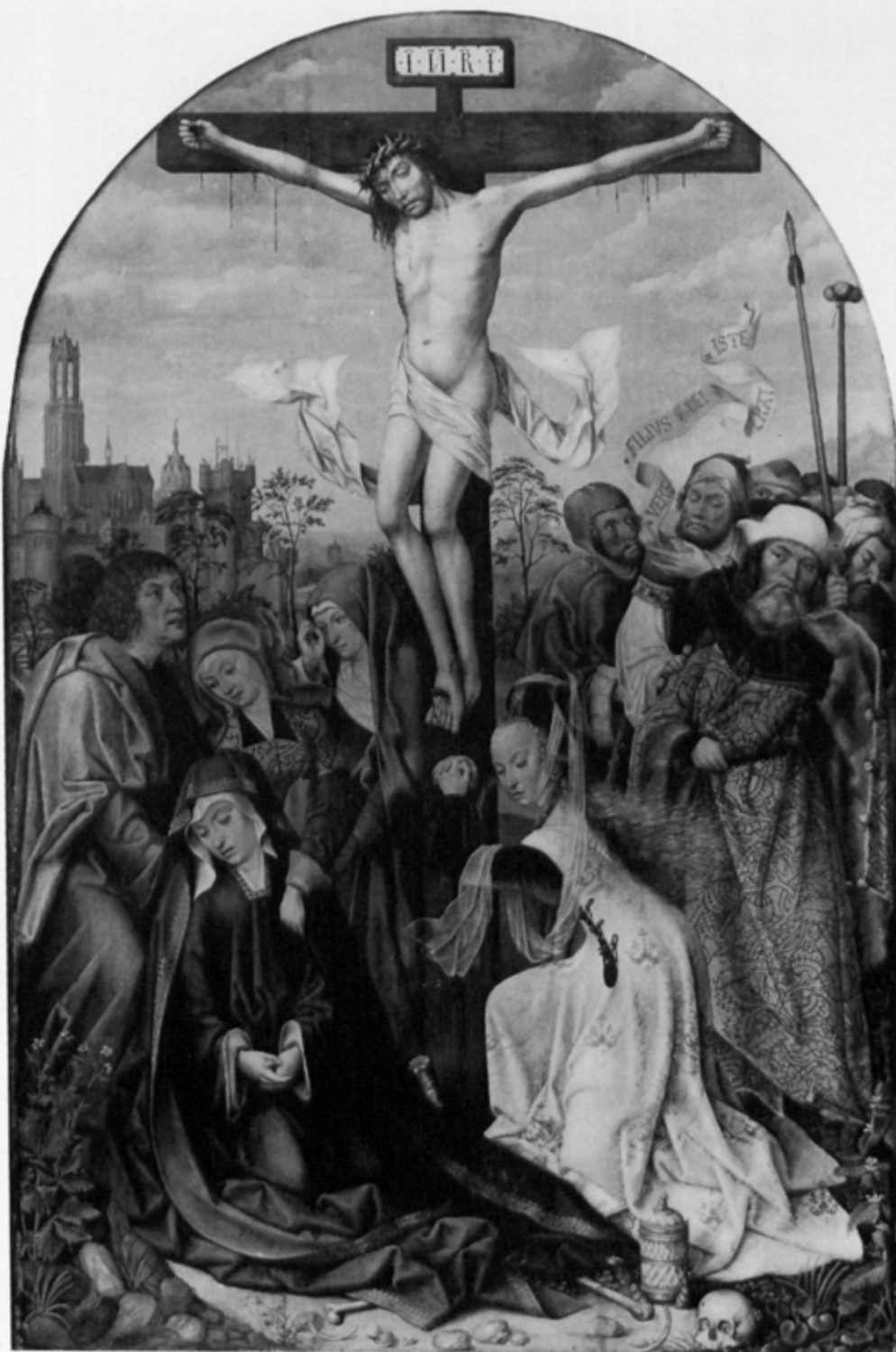
126. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Baptism of Christ. *Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña*



127. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)



128. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Frankfurt, *Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*



128. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. Frankfurt, *Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*



129. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred. Frankfurt, *Historisches Museum*. Predella: two Panels, Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents, Stuttgart, *Staatsgalerie*



129. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred. Verso in Grissaille. *Frankfurt, Historisches Museum. The Panels St. Odilia and St. Cecilia. Utrecht, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum*



130. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Berlin (East)*, Bode-Museum



130 a
130 d

130 a. Master of Frankfurt, Replica. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Formerly Leipzig, Harck Collection. 130 d. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Two Shutters : St. Catherine and St. Barbara. Amsterdam, P. de Boer Collection



131

132

131. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *London, Art Market, Sotheby's, 1954.* 132. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece: The Virgin Enthroned. *Pistoia, Museo Civico*



133	134
	135

133. Master of Frankfurt. Adam and Eve. *Altena, Thomee Collection*. 134. Master of Frankfurt. A Pair of Shutters : St. Catherine and Donatrix; St. Barbara with a Woman and Children. *Manchester, City Art Gallery*. 135. Master of Frankfurt. A Pair of Shutters : Donor and Holy Pilgrim; Donatrix and St. Elisabeth. *Chicago, Art Institute*



136 | Add. 203 | 136
136 a

136. Master of Frankfurt. A Pair of Shutters: Sts. Catherine and Barbara, seated. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. Add. 203. Master of Frankfurt. Holy Family. Centrepiece of Shutters. (136). *Private Collection*. 136 a. Master of Frankfurt, Workshop. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *Formerly Boston, Mrs. Edwin Webster Collection*



Suppl. 188	138
137	139 A

137. Suppl. 188. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Holy Family with Four Angels. Centrepiece. *Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery; Shuttters, The Hague, Mauritshuis.* 138.

Master of Frankfurt. A Pair of Shuttters : St. Andrew (*Lost*); St. Elisabeth. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen.* 139 A. Master of Frankfurt. Sts. Christopher and Roche. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum*



141
140

141. Master of Frankfurt. The Nativity. Valenciennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. 140. Master of Frankfurt. The Nativity. Hamburg, Kunsthalle





147	146
	147 c

147. Master of Frankfurt. *Virgin Seated Outdoors*. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle. 146. Master of Frankfurt. *St. Peter Escorting the Blessed*. Formerly Paris, Private Collection. 147 c. Master of Frankfurt, Replica. *Virgin seated Outdoors*. Formerly Berlin, Art Market



Plate
III



149 | 150
148 | 150 a

149. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin and Child. *Formerly Berlin, Lepke Auction, 1910.* 150. Master of Frankfurt. Holy Family. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.* 148. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin and Child. *The Hague, A. M. Stuyt Collection, 1958.* 150 a. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *Formerly Munich, Art Market, 1925*



151 | 152

151. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin with two Angels. Ghent, *Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 152. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin with Saints. Fullerton, California, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art



152 b | 152 c
153 a | 153

152 b. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *San Diego, California, Fine Arts Gallery.* 152 c. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Holy Family. *Formerly Barcelona, Torelló Collection.* 153 a. Master of Frankfurt, Copy. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Cologne, Lempertz, Auction, 1968.* 153. Master of Frankfurt. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Formerly Berlin, Lepke, Goldschmidt Auction, 1909*



155 | 154

155. Master of Frankfurt. St. Christopher. *The Hague, Mauritshuis*. 154. Master of Frankfurt. St. Christopher
's-Heerenberg, *van Heek Collection*



157 | 156

157. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece Shutter: Sts. Barbara and Catherine. Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum. 156. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece Shutter: St. Roch with a Donatrix. Formerly Amsterdam, Lanz Collection



161	159
	160
	162

161. Master of Frankfurt. Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian. Formerly Cologne, Lempertz, Auction, 1937. 159. Master of Frankfurt. Portrait of Francis of Tassis. Formerly London, Art Market, Gooden & Fox. 160. Master of Frankfurt. Portrait of a Man. The Hague, Eismer Collection (1948). 162. Master of Frankfurt. Portrait of a Man. Formerly New York, Harris Jonas Collection



163. Master of Frankfurt. Double Portrait of the Master and His Wife. Geneva, Private Collection

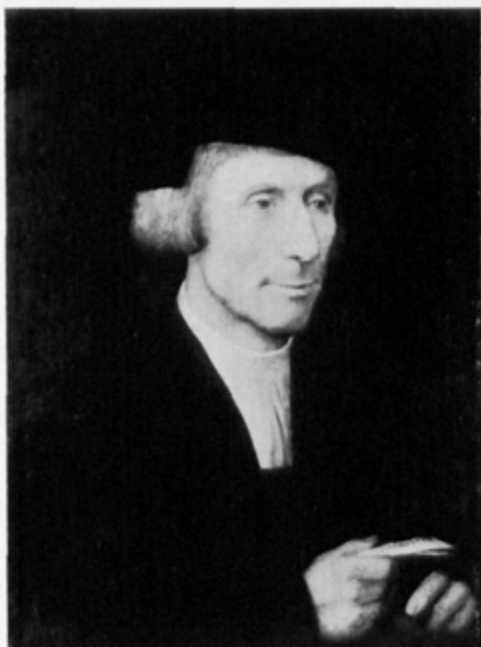


164. Master of Frankfurt. Festival of the Archers. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*





- Suppl. 167. Q. Massys. Christ Carrying the Cross. *The Hague, Mauritshuis (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).*
Suppl. 168. Q. Massys. Virgin and Child. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



Suppl. 170
Suppl. 171 | Suppl. 172

Suppl. 170. Q. Massys. A Pair of Portraits. *Mansion of Polesden Lacey, The National Trust.*
Suppl. 171. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. *Windsor Castle, Royal Collections.* Suppl. 172.
Q. Massys. Portrait of King Christian II of Denmark. *Kroměříč (Moravia), Episcopal Museum*



Suppl. 174
Suppl. 173

Suppl. 174. Q. Massys. A Group of Men in Caricature Style. Rome, Galleria Doria. Suppl. 173. Q. Massys. A Group of Men in Caricature Style. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen



Plate
123



Suppl. 176
Suppl. 177 | Suppl. 175

Suppl. 176. Master of the Morrison Triptych. Christ at the Home of Simon the Leper. *York, Art Gallery.* Suppl. 177. Master of the Morrison Triptych. St. Jerome Outdoors. *Formerly London, Art Market, Dr. Bloch, 1937.* Suppl. 175. Master of the Morrison Triptych. St. Paul. *Formerly London, Art Market, Dr. Bloch, 1936*



Suppl. 178	Suppl. 184
Suppl. 180	Suppl. 183

Suppl. 178. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Mary Magdalene in Half-Length. *Barcelona, Palacio de la Virreina (Legado Cambó)*. Suppl. 184. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Holy Family. *Brussels, Musée de l'Assistance Publique*. Suppl. 180. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. The Virgin of the Sorrows. *Munich, Alte Pinakothek (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)*. Suppl. 183. Master of the Mansi Magdalene. Holy Family. *Formerly Berlin, Art Market, P. Cassirer, 1928*



Suppl. 187. Master of Hoogstraeten. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Enschedé, Rijksmuseum Twenthe*

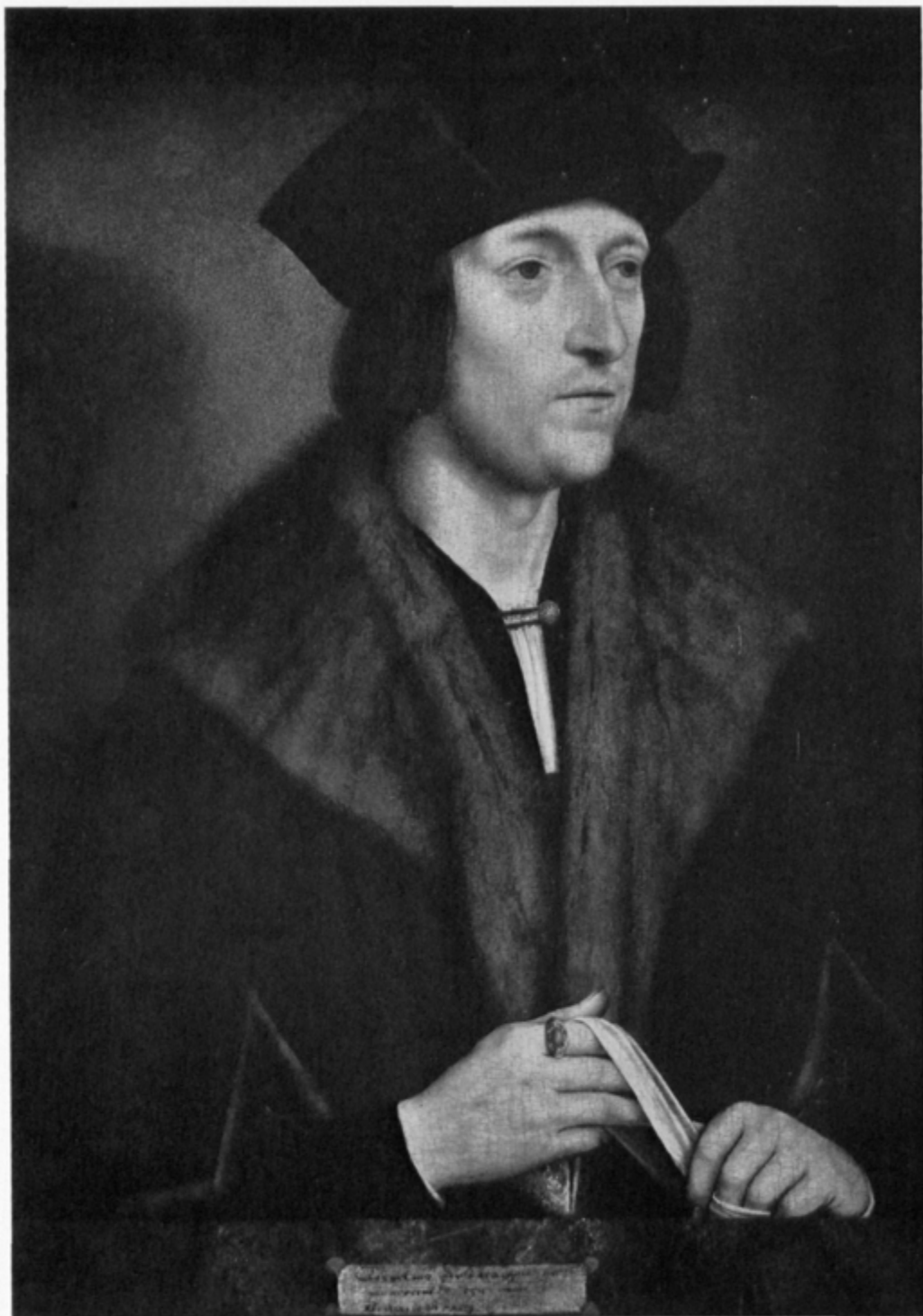


Suppl. 186. Master of Hoogstraeten. Lamentation. *Munich, Art Market, J. Böhler, 1936.* Suppl. 189. Master of Frankfurt. Portrait of a Man. *Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*



Add. 190 | Add. 191
Add. 192

Add. 190. Q. Massys. Portrait of an old Woman. *Present Location unknown.* Add. 191. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Bagpiper. *Dortmund, Heinrich Becker Collection.* Add. 192. Q. Massys, Replica. Festive Party. *Formerly Vienna, Art Market*



Add. 194. Q. Massys. Portrait of a Man. Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle



Add. 196 | Add. 196
Add. 195

Add. 196. Q. Massys. Fragment: Mater Dolorosa. Coimbra, Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro. Add. 196. Q. Massys. Two Shutters of a Triptych: Flogging and Ecce Homo, verso : Annunciation. Coimbra, Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro. Add. 195. Q. Massys. Pietà. Gaeta, Duomo



Add. 197. Q. Massys. Enthroned Virgin. *Hradec Castle (Silesia)*



Plate
131



Add. 198 | Add. 200

Add. 199 | Add. 204

Add. 198. Master of the Morrison Triptych. *Ecce Homo*. Zürich, *Kunsthhaus*. Add. 200. Master of the Morrison Triptych. *Two Donors, Sts. Francis and Catherine*. Madrid, *Private Collection*. Add. 199. Master of the Morrison Triptych. *Death of the Virgin*. Darmstadt, *Landesmuseum*. Add. 204. Master of Frankfurt. *The Nativity*. New York, *Robert Lehman Collection*



Add. 202. Master of Frankfurt. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Watervliet, Notre-Dame*



A
B | B

A. Oval Medaillon, Portrait of Q. Massys. *Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royale* (see p. 16). B. Medaillon. Q. Massys (?). Erasmus (Recto and Verso). *Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royale* (see p. 24).



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|---|--|---|--|
| A | | B | A. Q. Massys (?). St. Luke painting the Virgin. <i>Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga</i> (see Editors Note p. 88). |
| C | | C | B. A. Wiericx (after Q. Massys). St. Luke painting the Virgin. Engraving. <i>Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale</i> (see p. 16). |
| | | | C. Engraving. I.-H. Wiericx. Portrait of Q. Massys from D. Lampsonius « <i>Pictorum Aliquot... Effigies.</i> » Antwerp, 1572. <i>Brussels, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Royale</i> (see p. 12) |



A			
B	C	D	

A. Willem van Haecht. *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*. *Antwerp, Rubenshuis*. B. Id. Detail (see Cat. No. 46).
C. Id. Detail (see Cat. No. 67). D. Id. Detail (see Cat. No. 78)

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- VI Memline and Gerard David
- VII Quentin Massys
- VIII Jan Gossart and Bernard van Orley
- IX Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier
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